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ABSTRACT

This is a collection of essays on the current situations and projected trends of teacher education. After two introductory essays, "Realignments for Teacher Education" and "Historical Perspectives on the Future," the book is divided into three sections, each devoted to symposium papers on a particular topic. The first section is on the social context of teacher education, the second on the professional context (including discussions of staff differentiation, teachers for the ghetto, and negotiation and the education of teachers), and the third on the federal role in teacher education. Concluding the book are recommendations for the Association of Teacher Education. (JA)

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Teacher Education: Future Directions

A Report Of

The Fiftieth Anniversary Conference
of the Association for Student Teaching
1970

MARGARET LINDSEY
Editor and Chairman
of the Fiftieth Anniversary Committee

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Association of Teacher Educators
A National Affiliate of the
National Education Association

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THE ASSOCIATION OF TEACHER EDUCATORS*
A National Affiliate of the National Education Association

Richard E. Collier, Executive Secretary

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*Formerly the Association for Student Teaching.

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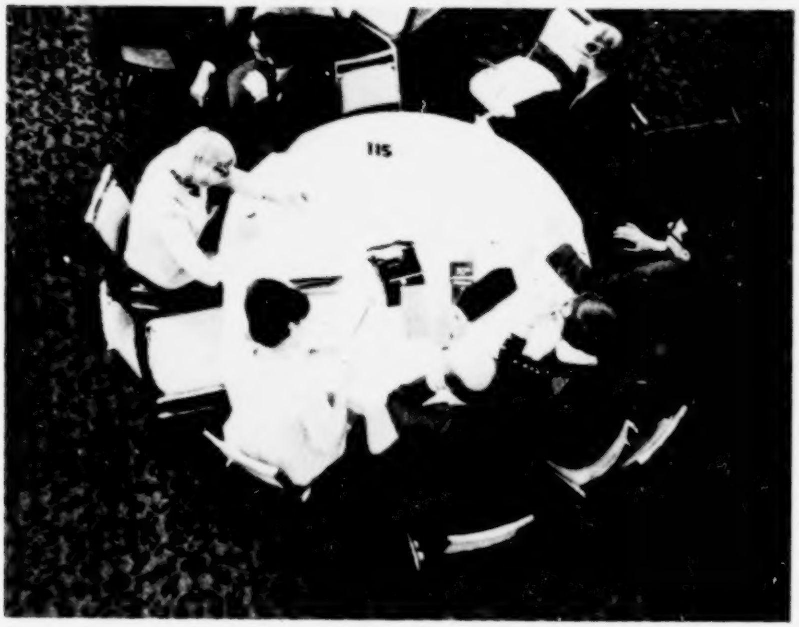

Preface

The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee of the Association for Student Teaching (AST) convened for its first meeting in February 1967. At that meeting a few important decisions were made and commitment to them remained constant throughout the three years of planning for the Anniversary Conference: (a) Although the history of the past fifty years would be attended to, it would serve only as a basis for a strong focus on the NOW and the FUTURE. (b) Significant factors in the social, political, and professional contexts of teacher education would be selected for emphasis. (c) Experts from outside as well as inside the Association's membership, especially from the social and behavioral sciences, would be invited to contribute. (d) Substantive papers would be prepared in advance and reported in a publication following the Conference. (e) Effort would be made to get conferees to focus on action recommendations for the Association. (f) Each participant would be asked to stay with the same group for intensive discussion of implications of the papers for their work in teacher education. (g) The Anniversary banquet would be made a celebration appropriate to fifty years of dedicated work in the Association.

Topics were identified as potentially worthy of consideration in program planning. Both the process and the substance of the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference, as reported in this publication, remained true to the original commitments of the Committee.

Many persons worked on the several different aspects of the Anniversary Program and their contributions are here recognized with appreciation.

The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee

MARGARET LINDSEY, *Chairman;* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York
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LOIS BLAIR, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Pennsylvania
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BROOKS SMITH, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan
EDGAR TANRUTHER, Terre Haute, Indiana
ALBERTA LOWE WANTLING, Granite City, Illinois

Persons Who Assumed Special Responsibilities

Walter Wernick Northern Illinois University DeKalb, Illinois	Arranged for and managed student participation in the Conference.
Dorothy McGeoch State University College at Potsdam, New York	Planned the system to be employed in recording content of discussion groups; conducted leadership training for leaders and recorders; prepared and presented the final report of discussion groups. The McGeoch-Olsen summary report appears on pages 140-45.
Hans Olsen University of Missouri St. Louis, Missouri	
Martin Haberman University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Moderated symposiums.
Eddie Ort University of Alabama Birmingham, Alabama	
Delva Daines Brigham Young University Provo, Utah	Conducted section meetings and presented charge to participants for their work in discussion groups.
Dwight Clark University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Wisconsin	
Maynelle Dempsey Georgia State Department of Education Atlanta, Georgia	
Robert Labriola Millersville State College Millersville, Pennsylvania	

Alma Bent Wheelock College Boston, Massachusetts	Served as "listeners" in section meetings, general sessions, and discussion groups and reported their findings to the McGeoch-Olsen team, responsible for a summary report of discussions.
Leonard Clark Jersey City State College Jersey City, New Jersey	
Robert Threatt Fort Valley State College Fort Valley, Georgia	
One hundred twenty Association members (names appear in printed program)	Served as discussion group leaders.

Special appreciation is expressed to J. Lawrence Walkup, president, and Edward C. Pomeroy, executive director, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), for their participation in planning and their support and active involvement during the Anniversary Conference, particularly with regard to the Anniversary Banquet. The AST Executive Committee was helpful in facilitating the plans made by the Fiftieth Anniversary Committee and their support is also appreciated. Without the consistent and able contributions of Richard Collier, executive secretary of the AST, the Conference plans could not have reached a stage of reality. His deep commitment and his management of all Conference arrangements made it possible to carry out plans that were difficult to make operational.

Finally, appreciation is expressed to participants who responded to the Conference with involvement and sincerity.

This report of the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference includes the papers presented at the general sessions and a summary of the action recommendations which evolved during the Conference. The papers are provocative. The Committee believes that the content of this publication should have significance not only for members of the Association (now the Association of Teacher Educators) but also for all others who work as teacher educators in schools, communities, and institutions of higher education.

Introduction

Margaret Lindsey

Excitement, challenge, disturbance, stimulation, confusion, frustration, depression, anger, fear, and a host of other non sequiturs might be used in expressing feelings about the status of the lives and work of teacher educators in 1970. Conditions surrounding schools and higher education institutions are forcing reformulation of values, purposes, and means by individual human beings, by the collective citizenry, and by organizations and institutions. Although analogous ferment surely existed in other times and other places, those who struggle with today's monumental problems cannot help but view them as more serious, more demanding, and more difficult of solution than problems encountered by their predecessors.

Efforts to understand and to cope with the maladies of our time, to enhance the quality of living for all human beings, to define and clarify the values and principles that shall guide action, and to develop personal and communal behavior consistent with those values and principles are present in large numbers in every institution and organization of society. Scholars in every field demonstrate concern; government agencies take action; individuals worry. And primary responsibility is placed on the shoulders of educators. They are informed that the substance and process of schooling are irrelevant in the light of today's world and its problems. They seek to discover new and more significant forms of education, better ways of making organized educational opportunities available and meaningful to all, young and old, rich and poor, black and white.

Those responsible for the education of the nation's teachers cannot plan and conduct programs without a base of some conception of roles their graduates are to assume. Consequently, teacher educators must examine the conditions in the social context and determine how those conditions can be capitalized upon in the organizing and conducting of formal education. Without a conception of the context in which their graduates must live and work, without a commitment to ways and means for making education relevant to those conditions, there is woefully inadequate base for decision making about teacher education.

A remarkable shift in the group of persons responsible for educating teachers is under way. By now it is almost redundant to note that communities are and must be involved in deciding what their schools shall do and how; it is equally redundant to comment that the profession at large is and must be involved in deciding how its members are to be selected, prepared, and judged. And with a new breed of students–value-oriented, serious, concerned about their world, and dedicated to making a life of love and comfort accessible to all–assuming more mature participation in their own destinies, they too are and must be important partners in teacher education decisions.

Conditions in the social-political context and in the professional context in which schools and the education of teachers for schools operate must be understood. They must be taken into full account in planning and conducting educational enterprises. In the papers presented here, specialists examine, from their several fields of expertness, what these conditions are and what meaning they have for teacher education.

The Charles W. Hunt Lecture, "Realignments for Teacher Education," provides a "deeply personal and bold statement" of the way one professional educator currently views teacher education programs and practices. The personal view is all the more important because it comes from a man whose experience in and contribution to the education of teachers places him in a class of leaders to be taken seriously. Fred T. Wilhelms, executive secretary of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), came to that position after years of notable leadership in the preservice and in-service education of teachers. Confessing admiration and hope for many of the new ideas and methods being advocated and, in some instances, practiced today, Dr. Wilhelms forces his listeners to examine realities as they are. His paper makes disturbingly clear the inadequacies of present practices.

The AST's historian and a former executive secretary, Allen D. Patterson, presents a bird's-eye view of events and ideas that shaped the contemporary emphases and activities in professional education. But the primary impact of his paper comes through his astute analysis of the meaning of the past for NOW and the FUTURE, not alone for the Association but also for teacher educators generally. Having been one of the prime movers and most influential persons in the development of ideas and action with regard to student teaching and other professional laboratory experiences in teacher education, and being still an alert critic of education, Dr. Patterson is well fitted to the task of examining the past as prologue to the future.

Relationships between conditions in the social context, education provided in schools, and the preparation of teachers for those schools have always been subject to study and indeed to considerable debate. It appears, however, that more direct and forceful attention is needed today if schooling is to be relevant and if education is to assume its rightful role of leadership in molding the future. Martin Haberman, professor of education at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, sets the stage for a symposium of four specialists, each of whom considers from the stance of his expertise the conditions surrounding professional education today. In his words, the symposium is devoted to "those who tirelessly grapple with realities they appreciate as formidable—the 'responsibly restless.' "

Barbara Sizemore, a sociologist who has worked intensively on problems of schooling and their relation to social and institutional structures and groups, brings scholarship and wisdom to her analysis of conditions. Drawing upon her contemporary experience as director of the Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project (Chicago Comprehensive Project), she asks teacher educators to become more aware of past and current dangers in the ways organizations and groups function in the power syndrome of educational decision making. Dr. Sizemore makes vivid and real what schools and institutions preparing teachers must take into account if "our collective ignorance" is not to destroy us.

Political variables that affect education today are examined by Nicholas Masters, professor of political science, Southern Illinois University. As a political scientist who has studied the interrelationship of education and politics for many years, Dr. Masters contends that present practices of academic life are unhealthy and calls for genuine leadership among teacher educators in formulating new programs more responsive to political realities.

Maxine Greene, professor of english, Teachers College, Columbia University, presents a brilliant analysis of the value crisis and confusion of our time and the meaning of them for teacher education. She makes explicit some imperatives both for the opportunities that ought to be available to students preparing to teach and for their teachers in higher education institutions. To act on her suggestions will demand courage and fortitude.

Eddie Ort, professor of education and chairman of the Department of Elementary Education, University of Alabama, introduces a symposium in which four factors occupying prominent positions in the professional context are analyzed. The president of the Student National Education Association, Charles Gonzales, presents a point of view on the power students are seeking, why it is being sought, and what the student movement in teacher education means for programs and people. He challenges teacher educators not only to search themselves in terms of practices that fall short of promises and principles but also to take the students seriously.

The idea of new patterns in staff deployment in schools is ably argued by Bernard McKenna, associate secretary, NEA National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS). Differentiated functions must be served by individuals differentially prepared if schools are to meet the demands placed upon them today. More and more important roles are to be played by practitioners in the selection, preparation, and judgment of performance of all those who work in the education of children and youth.

Samuel Shephard, district superintendent of the St. Louis, Missouri, Public Schools, presents a heartening picture of current studies, designed to determine needs of children and youth in ghetto communities and to advance notions about what schools might do to deal with them. He views the seventies as a time when findings from such studies must become operational in programs and in people. His strong conviction that American education can and will "free the human spirit of millions of our citizens from the enslavement of poverty and ignorance and from the social evils such enslavement engenders" underscores both the challenge and the hope of the future.

Conditions in the professional context cannot be examined without direct attention to the movement in negotiations–negotiations of all kinds, for diverse purposes, and involving many parties. This topic is treated in a forceful manner by William Hazard, associate dean, School of Education, Northwestern University. Paying particular attention to negotiation between professional organizations of teachers and school boards, Dr. Hazard notes that new questions of power are emerging and new groups are asserting interest and demanding responsible participation in decisions that affect them. Implications for the education of teachers are made clear.

The increasingly significant role of the federal government in education generally and in teacher education particularly is clearly spelled out by James E. Allen, former United States Commissioner of Education. Expressing dissatisfaction with things as they are, Dr. Allen makes clear the priorities for action during the next few years. Conditions earlier identified by social and behavioral scientists are recognized, but Dr. Allen makes clear the weight of the federal government in taking action in dealing with those conditions.

The Fifth Florence B. Stratemeyer Lecture is presented by Don Davies, Associate Commissioner for Educational Personnel Development, U.S. Office of Education. Like the preceding papers, this one expresses considerable dissatisfaction with the pace and focus of current developments in the education of teachers. Calling attention to the priorities mentioned by Dr. Allen, former Commissioner, to the recent AACTE publication entitled *Teachers for the Real World*, and to the conceptual models from the Office of Education, Dr. Davies asks for a reconstitution of teacher education and recommends qualities to be sought in new programs.

Conference participants' consideration of the implications of the several papers for the Association are summarized in the form of recommendations for future action by Dorothy McGeoch, coordinator of laboratory experiences, State University of New York College at Potsdam, and Hans Olsen, assistant dean, University of Missouri at St. Louis.

Realignments for Teacher Education*

Fred T. Wilhelms

Contrary to the speaker's usual opening sentence, I am rather *un*happy to be standing before you today. It is going on seven years since I have been actively engaged in the education of teachers. It is nearly a dozen years since I had administrative responsibility for a large and completely comprehensive program of teacher education. That is time enough to get pretty rusty in any scholarly field, and particularly one which has been changing in many ways. In the intervening years, to be sure, my interests have remained keen, and I have kept a weather eye on what has been going forward. Nevertheless, I want to stipulate immediately that you are more expert and knowledgeable than I am and that I owe you the respect and modesty an outsider always ought to feel in the presence of those who are doing the work.

But I have also had time enough to repent of the sins I committed in the names of bureaucracy and academic respectability. Freed from the daily exigencies of the job and the constant necessity of compromise, one can pause to look the fundamentals in the eye and to work through to a new perspective. Along with this comes a wonderful upsurge–the nerve to bell a few cats that one knew, all along, needed to be belled.

I have decided, therefore, not to try to "scholar up" this paper with references to all the most recent developments, which, in my position, I should have had to dig out with great labor. Rather, I want to make this a deeply personal and bold statement of the way I now see things. I realize this is presumptuous, and I confess it takes all the nerve I have, but I suspect it may be the greatest service I can offer. Let me say also that I intend to talk about teacher education as it actually is, about the great bulk of its programs as they actually are. I admire the new models being developed, and I think teacher education people have some very attractive ideas floating around. But the realities are still the realities.

One of the worst problems of teacher education is that two of its most acute problems are largely beyond its control. I know most people assume that, in the

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*The Eleventh Charles W. Hunt Lecture, presented at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Chicago, Illinois, February 25, 1970 and published in the AACTE 1970 Yearbook, *Realignments for Teacher Education.*

education of teachers, the salient problems will always be found in the professional sector. But I believe the biggest single problem lies in the so-called liberal arts sector, in the preparation the prospective teacher gets in his own teaching fields and in general education.

I became sensitized to this while I was working in California, where our secondary candidates went through a required five-year program. Now, the mathematics of a five-year program, as compared to a four-year one, are interesting. If you do not increase the time devoted to general education or to professional education, then the size of the students' majors and minors will almost double. I recall that one year, by actual count, the holdings of our secondary candidates averaged 48 semester units in their majors and 32 in their minors. Since the schools we served were mostly large urban ones whose teachers could specialize rather highly, we commonly had majors and minors closely related, as in a combination of the physical and biological sciences. This meant that the actual preparation of the students in one broad teaching field averaged 80 semester units.

That is a lot of preparation in one field. I was shocked, then, to find our students no more facile in teaching their subjects than those I had known with 27 or 30 units in the field. Inevitably, they *knew* the subject better, and they were pretty competent with it, as long as it remained in the same structure and sequence to which they had been accustomed. But they could not "play" with it comfortably or cleverly. They could not shift easily into a non-chronological treatment, nor move from a logical into a psychological mode. They saw the subject matter in linear fashion and could not accommodate a non-linear plunge into the middle. They knew quite a bit about their field, but they did not know what the field itself was all about. In Bruner's terms, they did not know the structure of their discipline. In philosophical terms, they had little feeling for fundamental purposes. They did not know how to *use* the content of the field for purposes beyond the content. They saw it only as a set body of knowledge and skill to be—in that horrible phrase—"put across."

To be blunt about it, they had been badly taught. Even now, it takes all the nerve I have to say this publicly. Our liberal arts brethren got the jump on us in the fifties and convicted us of anti-intellectualism, low academic standards, and all that. They almost convinced us ourselves of our inferiority. And it is still hard to turn the accusation in their direction. But the cold fact is that their curricula are not only largely irrelevant, but almost deliberately so. They teach a million bits and pieces and rarely offer even a glimpse of a coherent whole. They almost deliberately turn their backs on relevant life purposes, preferring the technical rigors of the "pure" and remote discipline. When I spoke earlier of the liberal arts, I used the expression "so-called" because the old liberal fields—even the humanities—have increasingly become as technical as a course in sheet-metal working. I am not at all sure they do not deserve the term *illiberal* arts. And, all too typically, the treatment of students puts the freeze on individuality and autonomy, not to mention free inquiry and creativity.

This is no way to produce the bold, philosophical, autonomous young professional we need. It may—though I doubt it—be a good way to produce research-oriented Ph.D.'s. But it is no way to produce young teachers who see their subject matter whole, in a context of personal and social purposes, and who are able to use it for the growth of children and youth and the betterment of a society sorely tried.

The situation is fundamentally serious. It forces us forever to start from behind, to try in one or two methods courses to make up for deficits accumulated over several years. In earlier days I used to be grateful that teacher education had abandoned the old normal school model where every background course became a sort of junior-grade methods course. I guess I still am. Certainly, I still believe that our teachers must be prepared by first-rate scholars operating in the challenging environment of the multipurpose facility. But can we not find some middle ground? Professional education and the subject matter preparation of a teacher simply cannot be acceptably done in near total isolation from one another. We need people prepared in a special way just because they are going to be teachers. I know—given the typical college or university structure and, even more, its mind set—that any such reconstruction will be an awesome task. But I think it is time to come out flatly for what our job requires.

The arts faculties control some eighty percent of the prospective teacher's collegiate time. We have a right to demand, then, that they contribute proportionately to his fitness to be a teacher. They are not now doing so. I hope we can work this through with them so that they will put new effort into reshaping both their offerings and the climate in which the work is done. But I am not optimistic. My own experience is that they are delighted to criticize the professional sector, but most unwilling—perhaps unable—to look at their own sector with philosophical and critical eyes. We may be forced to move for control of the background preparation of teachers. I know that attempt would add, shall we say, *flavor* to our lives on campus! But, in all soberness, it may be our duty to the schools.

That, in my judgment, is one realignment in teacher education that we have to have.

The second major problem, which lies a bit outside our direct control, is also painful to probe because it involves criticism of a well-meaning and often generous partner. I refer to our use of the public schools, chiefly for student teaching, but more generally for experience and contact with reality. Obviously, this resource is essential to us; without it our programs would be almost completely verbal and out of touch with reality. Such devices as microteaching and the use of the newer media may free us a little, or at least modify our use of the experiential side. But real experience is still essential.

Why do I raise the question at all then? Because I see our typical use of the schools as a condemnation to mediocrity–or worse. I know that I fly in the face of much opinion here. I know that there are many, from Conant on down, who feel that the best way to train a teacher is to put him with an older teacher who will show him how. Whenever I hear this view expressed–no matter how nicely the view is cloaked in words like "internship" or "clinical professor"–I want to yell, "You have to be kidding!" Are we talking about training for a mechanical trade or educating for an intellectual profession?

We all know what really happens. In the first place–and this is our own fault–the student teaching in which we still place our major experiential investment, is generally done too late. With a growing number of exceptions, it comes *after* the study of psychology, sociology, educational principles, and even methods, and therefore cannot motivate or inform any of them. To compensate for this, many colleges strive for some pattern of observation and mild participation. *But the student teaching is still the real thing.* And that is a great part of what is the matter with it. The emotional pressure is too high. The situation is too tight. With so much at hazard–his whole career, as many a student teacher sees it–who can be psychologically free to look at himself with clear eyes, to take in without distortion the stimuli that arise out of this supreme learning experience, to play around speculatively with creative ideas? Only someone very bold and self-assured can assert his real self.

And there is solid reason behind the resulting tightness and self-restraint. The basic fact of a student teacher's life is that he is captive. The typical cooperating teacher subscribes implicitly to the trade school ethic. Student teaching, in his view, is not for exploration; it is for practice, for the perfecting of skills. The conscientious older teacher works hard to show the neophyte how to teach. (And, in all justice, he gives much practical help.) But the lid is on; or, even if it really is not, the student thinks it is, and that amounts to the same thing. The anxious youngster sweats to do everything as he thinks his mentor wants it done. And when, on occasion, his college supervisor drops around, he really sweats to resolve the conflicting images he senses his two superiors have in mind. And so, in what ought to be the greatest learning experience in the young professional's life, what is really happening is the start of an unremitting indoctrination into the very system we are all trying to break out of. When the young professional ought to be finding his own unique self, he is instead warped by someone else's style and being.

There is another way of looking, not only at the student teaching but also at the whole professional sequence. That is to ask ourselves how much developmental guidance it delivers. A young person entering his preparation for a profession has a right to expect that it will help him, step by step, not merely in acquiring the necessary skills and knowledge, but, more fundamentally, in *becoming a professional person*. After all, the time of professional preparation is much like a "second adolescence." It is accompanied by comparable doubts, uncertainties, and fears of inadequacy. The initial commitment to being a teacher is generally weak and shallow. It is more like choosing a job than committing oneself meaningfully to a way of life and a rich purpose. Perhaps above all else, the period of preparation ought to be a time of maturation into a young professional.

And how does our traditional program stack up against that need? Let's look at that in terms of a rather successful student coming to us with, say, a "B" average. The courses he is likely to take—psychology, social foundations, etc.—are about as academic as the courses he has come out of. He will probably earn a "B" average in them, too. What has he learned about himself, then, as a professional teacher? Before he comes to student teaching, what "feel" has he got of what it means to be a teacher? What does he know about his own strengths in communicating with and relating to children or adolescents? What insights has he gained as to how it feels to step in and take charge, to be the responsible adult? In cold fact he might almost as well be seen as just a college student who happens to be taking some education courses. The program has added virtually nothing to his perception of himself as an autonomous professional, nor his knowledge of the strengths he has and the changes he needs to work toward.

Furthermore, there is a question as to how much encouragement, or even freedom, the student is given during this period to explore himself as an autonomous professional. About a decade ago at San Francisco State College, I did a study of the perceptions of our education students with regard to our professional program. It was a time of intense criticism of teacher education, and our students might well have been expected to echo the popular charges of endless repetition, low intellectual quality, and all that. They did not do so, very much. But we *did* have, I believe, an exceptionally free-swinging, permissive faculty. Yet I found large numbers of our students convinced of one damning thing: *They were not free*. Many, even of the friendliest respondents, believed that the faculty had a "party line" of beliefs and they felt obliged to pretend to believe in those doctrines. What bothered me most was that they seemed to accept this as inevitable.

I do not believe that the situation at my old college, with its long, liberal tradition, was worse than the norm. To be honest, I believe it was distinctly better than average. If that is true, what do we have in our professional programs? A student who is not only captive during his student teaching, but also psychologically cornered in the courses that precede student teaching. I don't want to put that too strongly. I don't mean that we abuse our students. I mean only that we provide the wrong kind of climate for what we want to grow—or ought to want to grow.

I opened this section with a few rather embarrassed remarks about our traditional alignment with the public schools as our experimental laboratory. I am now ready to argue that our use of that laboratory must be radically reshaped. I am going to argue this on two grounds:

1. Any professional program which depends on a sequence leading from abstract, theoretical, academic study of education to a final massive dose of experience is unsound and likely to be ineffective.

2. Any professional program which finally delivers the student into the hands of one or two "master teachers" who are to show him how to teach is not only unsound but also potentially damaging—and this is true even if the master teachers are exceptionally skilled.

The first of my arguments is commonplace. Anybody with common sense knows that the traditional theory-first-practice-last sequence is ineffective because it wastes the opportunity to use real experience as a motivating force for deepened study, because it brings the student into such study with inadequate apperceptive background, and because much of the understanding and skill presumed to have been generated in the earlier courses has somehow vanished before it can be applied. It never was truly learned, or it was learned in forms that prevent the student from recognizing "on the hoof" the very problems he studied *via* the textbook. One could easily expand that line of argument, but any experienced teacher-educator can embroider it for himself.

My primary objections lie along another line. I object to such a program because it offers too little opportunity for self-exploration and maturation as a professional person. This is also the basis for my second point: that putting a student teacher in the hands of one of two master teachers courts disaster. I want to make it perfectly clear that this is not because I consider those teachers "bad." It is simply that no aspiring young professional should be forced into a situation where he is warped to fit somebody else's preconceptions.

We need a continuing situation which is extremely "open." To me this means, first of all, that the program of experiential learnings should begin just as early as the program of intellectual analysis, and should proceed alongside it, step by step. At every step the two should be interwoven. Every bit of experience should feed naturally into the next step of intellectualization and every intellectual increment should enrich the next bit of experience. As to the experiences themselves, one can lay down a number of criteria:

1. Experience should have an exploratory quality, moving around in the whole school situation and out into the community.

2. The experience should also have an inward quality, at each step helping the young person see himself more clearly *as a teacher*. In this it must be aided in the intellectual sector by teaching which has much of the quality of counseling.

3. If experience is to have this self-revealing quality, the emotional loading at each step must be appropriately light. Any psychologist knows that human beings look at themselves with clear eyes only if they can afford to. When the stresses grow too great—as they often do in student teaching—people close down their perceptions, distort the stimuli, and see what they need to see.

4. To achieve appropriate emotional lightness, it is probably best, for quite a while, to stick to the tasks of getting acquainted and learning to relate easily with children and youth—and colleagues—in relatively informal situations. The formal and much heavier role of *director of learning* had better be held till late in the game.

5. At least until very late in the sequence, experiences should be selected and evaluated primarily for other than practice or skill-building effects. The proper role of early experience is to help the student see reality, to find out what the problems are, to open his eyes to possibilities, and to get him comfortable with kids and schools. Even more fundamentally, the job is to help the learner know his own peculiar strengths, grow confident in using them, find out what kind of teacher he wants to be in what kinds of settings, and slowly form his own personal commitments. How well the student performs in each situation is not the point. He needs room to grope and blunder, and not at the price of being forever picked at. And the question of "timing" such experience is a very nice one.

6. A broad, varied pattern of experiences should bring the student into contact with many and varied potential models. He should not be stuck with any one situation or cooperating teacher after it becomes unprofitable to him. It does not even matter if some of the models are not so good. With open eyes, he can pick and choose what fits *him*, finally matching no one model *in toto*. He needs desperately to learn that he, the unique person, has his own peculiar mix of strengths and qualities, that he does not need to be like any other teacher. What he needs to be is a whole person.

7. Experience ought to assume an important role as problem-solver. I am not talking about a system in which the student gets the word on campus and then goes out to apply it. School and campus are both sources of insight, complementing each other.

Now I recognize that an experiential program thus conceived will call for a pretty different partnership. It will have to be a bit loose, jointly planned, and dependent on a great deal of mutual forbearance. In a way, it will demand more of the schools, but at the same time it will deliver them an increasing resource of youthful help. Anyway, I know that public school people believe so strongly in the experiential component of professional education that they will willingly sweat out quite a bit of bother.

What will likely be hardest to get across, to ourselves as well as to our partners, is a conception of experience which does not equate it with practice and does not immediately make skill in performance the criterion. Cooperating teachers and principals like the nice, orderly routines of a student teacher in a set place at a set hour for a set number of weeks. But a genuinely exploratory feeling-out of the experiences a given student needs will not be all that orderly.

The second great realignment we need, then, is a partnership with the schools which provides a genuine problem-solving, self-exploratory approach in place of mere "practice." It will be hard to achieve. But it is essential.

And here, once more, I need to shift gears. From the very beginning, organized programs of teacher preparation have been centered upon skills. Even today, if an experienced teacher goes to summer school, in common parlance he is going to learn the "new methods." There has been an unspoken assumption that in heaven there is laid up for us a perfect *body of practices* and that any teacher who learns and practices them will automatically become a good teacher.

Well, what are those practices? For a half century we have been trying to find ways of evaluating the effectiveness of teachers and teaching. We have failed, dismally. *Why?* If the key to good teaching were some set body of practices, surely we could long since have measured whether the right "methods" were being used. But the hard data always confound us. Always there is the teacher who "does all the wrong things"–and succeeds. And always, down the hall, there is the sweet thing who "does everything right" and can't teach a lick.

I do not claim that there are not, in a general way, better and worse ways of teaching. I even recognize that recently we are coming closer to identifying some components of superior teaching (such as asking better questions). I do not wish to oppose the development of skills. I believe that using such devices as videotaping segments of teaching and subjecting the tapes to analysis, perhaps some form of interaction analysis, are proving enormously important.

And yet, over the years, I have slowly been driven back to an overwhelming faith in the *primacy of the person*. It is the person inside the teacher that counts. What he *is*. What she *is*. There are other elements of importance, but this is *it*. With Arthur Combs, I believe that the effective teacher is the mature person who has learned to use himself effectively as a teaching instrument. Teaching is a personal act. It is basically intercommunicative and interrelative with other persons. In that constant interrelation the true personality can, by design, be covered up for a while. But not for long, not in the thousand and one impulsive decisions of the working day. In the final analysis, what the teacher *is*, is more important than anything he does.

And where does that leave us, in teacher education? Helpless? Thrown back on the cliché that good teachers are born, not made? Not at all! It only means that we must go at the business of educating teachers in a fundamentally different way.

I hope you have noticed that I have been trying to get at this all along. When I spoke of possibly needing to take over the academic preparation of teachers, I was thinking only in part of their subject matter proficiency. The freshman year of college is none too early to start a program which progressively enriches a student's self-concept and takes him on the road to everything that professionalism means. If we want a free-swinging, autonomous, sensitive student at graduation, we cannot afford years of subservient detention in a home for dependents.

When I spoke of the problems we face in our partnership with the public schools, I was not primarily worried about what happens to competences. I was worried about a student who was cabined, cribbed, and confined under a dictatorship of accomplished skill, and I was wondering how, next year, he was supposed to accept the mantle of independence.

Now it is time to look at what we ourselves can do, in our own limited life space. It is not so little, if we can reconceptualize our purposes. Our primary purpose must be *to help each candidate as much as we can in his personal/professional becoming*. Fortunately, quite a bit of the subject matter we want to use anyway, for technical purposes, will lend itself naturally to this personal use. We shall not have to sacrifice proficiency in order to gain maturation.

I have already sketched one aspect of the program we need: a curriculum of field experiences starting at the very beginning of the professional sequence and proceeding with it *pari passu*. This curriculum will consist of many pieces, highly individualized, to meet each student's needs, largely self-selected by the student under guidance and aimed more at self-development than at skill development.

Now, back on the campus, what curriculum shall we lay alongside that field curriculum and interweave with it? I suggest, first of all, that we jettison the stereotyped sequence of academic courses in education. They are too narrow and piecemeal, and too confusing. We need, I believe, just two program elements:

1. A continuing seminar, running the whole length of the professional period. It should be led by a team representing such components as psychology, the social foundations, philosophy, and curriculum. For the sake of maximum openness and sensitivity, it will be best if the same students and the same faculty team can continue together over a long time. And it will be desirable to have the faculty team work with the students in the field as well as on campus, so that all have a common background. This seminar will constitute the major guiding influence in the student's entire development.

2. An instructional laboratory, richly equipped and manned by a variety of specialists, to be used by each student when he needs it and in his own way. It might well be called a skills center, for its purpose is to build specific proficiencies. The faculty in charge will not have primary responsibility for the more personal guidance of a student's development. I am thinking here of the learning of specific methodologies, of the appropriate use of educational technology, perhaps the mastery of one or more forms of interaction analysis, probably the utilization of microteaching and guided analysis of the resulting videotapes.

There are many persons in this audience who have been in on the development of such laboratories and who are far more sophisticated in using them than I shall ever be. Therefore, I shall not elaborate on the laboratories any further, except to insist that they deserve a truly massive investment and such staffing as will permit their flexible use by individuals as needed.

But the brief treatment I am giving the instructional laboratory should not be construed as lack of emphasis upon it. I believe we are getting to the point where we can take the act of teaching apart and deliberately build skill into each of its component parts (as, for example, the art of asking good questions, or the deliberate teaching of the ability to abstract and to generalize). I believe that it will be in the laboratory that we can make use of programmed instruction, and all the other resources which technology newly offers us. It will be in the laboratory that we can get at the best that is coming out of the great curriculum projects. My reason for treating all this briefly is cast in Dr. Johnson's reply when the lady caught him out on his definition of the pastern: "Ignorance, madam, pure ignorance."

I should like, then, to turn back to the basic seminar, with which I feel more comfortable. It should be supremely "open" and supportive. It does not need—and should not have—any pre-committed scope and sequence of ground to be covered. With the free and varied program of field experiences as base, the students and faculty can analyze their needs and plan each next step with complete confidence that whatever is essential to professional education will claim its place naturally. Middle class students who have had close relations with slum children will want to know more about them. If they have had trouble with motivation and discipline, they will be eager consumers of psychology. If they have tried a little teaching, they will be almost too anxious to study better ways of teaching.

In this process it is inevitable that whatever is important from disciplines such as psychology and sociology will find plenty of room. But while such a seminar will teach the background knowledge a teacher needs—and teach it so that it will stick, because what is learned is learned in the heat of experience—the fundamental purposes of the seminar will be much more personal. For instance, such a seminar can and should use a wide variety of large-group and small-group processes so long and so sophisticatedly that the students will feel completely at home with them. These processes should be explicated and discussed occasionally. But they need not be taught as a separate set of "methods," because the young teachers will continue on with them as naturally as they breathe.

Beyond group process, the seminar can use itself as a laboratory for the understanding of group dynamics–of the forces at work in any group. This will require planned effort, but with effort it will be simple enough.

Beyond even this, the seminar will be a natural setting for a long, gentle, nonintrusive development of sensitivity training. Brought along slowly over several semesters, in a warm, supportive *milieu*, it need have none of the abruptness and all-too-frequent cruelty of the hurry-up job. It should help each student enormously to find out who he really is, how people react to him and why, what his unique strengths are, and how to use them. And, in the main, this can be done while the primary focus is on professional problems, turning inward only as the students themselves willingly open up their personal sides. When, for an individual, more depth is needed, what arises in the seminar can be carried over into private counseling with a congenial member of the faculty team–or even with a counseling psychologist outside the team who is held ready for such occasions. I do not see the college as a psychiatric institution, but a wholesome educational situation is in itself therapeutic, and that therapeutic value can be multiplied by even *modest* efforts beyond the usual. The goal I am after here is to help each student toward that self-insight and self-acceptance which alone can lead to understanding and accepting others.

But I believe also that a powerful factor in a beginning teacher's mental health is the depth and richness of his commitments. Many of our young teachers are on shaky ground, psychologically, because they suspect they have chosen an unambitious career. Furthermore, they are not deaf to the rumors that what they are asked to learn in education courses is just a lot of words, unrelated to the real work of a teacher. When the rough realities of full-time teaching hit our graduate, it is not enough that somewhere along the line he has said, "I guess I'll be a teacher." He needs to know very firmly why he wants to be a teacher, what kind of teacher he means to be, and whom he wishes to teach, in what kind of situation. He needs commitments so rugged and so clearly understood that nothing can shake them.

The seminar I have sketched, combined with the ongoing curriculum of field experiences, provides just the right setting. The experiences will often be disturbing, frustrating, puzzling. There will be failures and there will be exhilarating successes. There will be a growing fondness for the children and youths they "live" with, along with a growing recognition that a responsible adult cannot be just a fond buddy. Then the seminar, with its supportive, well-known faculty and its rich supply of friends in need, will be a home where everything can be admitted, boasted about, puzzled about, and where efforts can be replanned without fear of contempt or censure. Little by little, the joint combination of self-revealing experiences and group reflection will allow each young person to find himself and be himself, without the slightest need to fit himself to someone else's image.

I need not go further with this. Your imagination has undoubtedly leaped far ahead of me already. On the basis of my own experience I could easily show you that there will be no losses—there will be gains—in the students' growing understanding of what is important from psychology, curriculum theory, educational sociology, philosophy, and so on. Louis Alderman used to say that "adult education is like cooking for hungry people." Teaching psychology to students aroused by their experience with children and youth shares that quality.

But I have chosen to go straight down the line on the theme of helping each candidate in his personal/professional becoming. If it is the person inside the teacher that ultimately counts, then we must deliberately help that person grow as a professional. We need not fret eternally about every technical bit of knowledge. Hungry people search for what they need. In the instructional laboratory we can build the technical skills better than we ever have before. But let us keep the personal/professional emergence paramount.

In our work at San Francisco State College, my associates and I never quite accomplished all the serene splendors I have painted here. For one thing, the technology was not then anywhere near its present level. For another thing, both our wisdom and our nerve sometimes failed us. But we went far enough to know that what I have here envisioned was just at our fingertips. We were confident that, with a few more years of tryouts, we could have come fairly close to the mark.

And now, in closing, I should like to add a few editorial comments. We in teacher education have all too commonly been the stepchildren of the collegiate family. We have been put down, ridiculed, sniped at. We have had to do our work in a state of penury unimagined by educators for any other profession. We have had to carry student ratios that would stagger other professors. To cap it all, we have been uniquely self-analytical and evaluative and thus have borne heavy hearts for failures most faculties would not even notice, let alone admit.

Furthermore, in the past decade, the penury has been extended even to the *time* we have with our students. The great assault of the academicians, who liked to believe we didn't have anything to say anyway, has been dismayingly successful, and we are forced to operate in a pitifully pinched segment of time.

But we *do* have something to say, a very great deal to say, and it is fundamentally important. With each succeeding year, what we know about learning and teaching is growing. What we know about the school as a social institution, and about the needs of every subculture, is growing. We have something of great value to offer, and it is time to fight for the time and the resources to offer it.

In the great debates about education we are the ones who have been most nearly right all along. Not completely right, just nearly right. The public, aided and abetted by some of the prestigious academicians, have had their silly season of deriding the great progressive gains made from the twenties through the forties. They had their fun with the concept of the "whole child." They thought a school system that tried to wrestle with the real problems of life and of society was merely soft and anti-intellectual. They wanted schools to be rigorously intellectual, they said, concerned only with the pure disciplines. Their great emphasis was on the "precious few" who could meet their tunnel-vision notion of "excellence."

Well, they succeeded–for a while. Until the facts of life caught up with them. Then they had to rediscover the precious many, including the failures and the rebels and the dropouts, whom we had been fighting for all along. In considerable degree they achieved their planned irrelevance, with life deliberately shut out of the classroom. And what did it get them? A perceptive generation caught them in the act and went "alienated." They have rejected the concentration on the merely technical. The battle cry of "relevance" is heard from coast to coast, and the great humane values which have been our chief concern are once more being forced upon those who sought to ignore them.

I don't suppose there is any use being vindictive about it all, though now and then I cannot resist a quiet "I told you so." We were not wholly perfect either. But there is a solid lesson here. Through all the confusion, we have consistently been the closest to wisdom. We have been the most perceptive and, as it turns out, the closest to the scientific truth. And we have been steadily dedicated to all the children of all the people and to the growth of the truly great society. A group with our record has no cause to hide its light or to retreat one inch.

The high principles of education for which we have stood are emerging once again, supported this time by increasing research, but tested also in the crucible of experience. It only remains now for us to apply them with unflinching honesty and idealism to our own great work: the preparation of a nation's teachers.

Historical Perspectives on the Future

Allen D. Patterson

The decision made in 1920 to break away from the National Society of College Teachers of Education and to create a professional organization which would "attack and solve" the problems involved in supervised practice teaching fulfilled a long-debated idea whose time had come. In 1893, Frank McMurray had started a student teaching program for a few secondary school teachers, with a staff of two supervisors and a group of students housed in the basement room of a building at the University of Illinois. This experiment lasted for one year. Then in 1908, William C. Bagley, the first person elected as an Honorary Member of this Association, tried again to develop a similar program at the same University. Normal schools began to upgrade their elementary professional curricula and initiated professional studies and supervised student teaching for high school teachers. In its widely read report, the Committee of Seventeen in 1907 recommended that prospective high school teachers study certain professional subjects and carry on a supervised program of observation and practice teaching, without, however, earning any credit toward the baccalaureate degree.[1]

Superintendents of schools and high school principals, faced with rapidly increasing enrollments and the consequent need for many new teachers, urged that the normal schools and colleges provide professional training, including supervised observation and student teaching, for students who planned to teach in the high schools. A study made in 1909 by George Dawson reported that 123 of 165 superintendents of schools "strongly favored professional studies of education for secondary school teachers." Many of the respondents urged inclusion of practice teaching under supervision.[2]

In 1915, Alexander A. Inglis of Harvard University proposed that the next annual program of the National Society of College Teachers of Education be given over to the report of a new committee to be known as the Committee to Study Methods of Affording Practice Teaching to Secondary School Teachers. The committee, whose appointed chairman was Arthur R. Mead, professor of education at Ohio Wesleyan University, consisted of a distinguished group of college and university professors of education. During its four years of study, the Committee included Will Grant Chambers, George S. Counts, William S. Gray, Calvin O. Davis, Herbert W. Nutt, Dean J. L. Minnick, to name only a few of the persons whose writings in the field of teacher education dominated the professional literature for the next two decades. The final report of this Committee to the National Society was made in 1920. The Committee was thanked for its services, the secretary was asked to disseminate its recommendations, but the National Society rejected a request that the same or another group of members be designated to continue the study.

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[1] National Education Association, Committee of Seventeen on the Professional Preparation of High School Teachers. "Joint Recommendations of the Committee of Seventeen on the Professional Preparation of High School Teachers." *NEA Addresses and Proceedings, 1907.* Washington, D. C.: the Association, 1907. pp. 536-38.

[2] Dawson, George E. "The Professional Training of Teachers in College Departments of Education." *School Review* 17:171-79; 1909.

Angered but prepared for action, a few members of the Committee, led by R. A. Cummins, Arthur R. Mead, and E. I. F. Williams, decided to meet to create a new organization whose specific concern would be the advancement of supervised student teaching. Accordingly, on February 26, 1920, at the Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, at least thirty-five charter members organized the National Association of Directors of Supervised Student Teaching and chose Mead as acting president and Cummins as secretary-treasurer. After adopting a short constitution, the members decided to hold a meeting in 1921 in conjunction with the annual meeting in Atlantic City of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association (NEA).

Educational Administration and Supervision, in April 1920, announced the formation of the new Association and invited those who were eligible because of their direct concern with supervised teaching "to become lively members of the Association" upon payment of the annual membership fee of one dollar. The brief statement of the purpose of the Association is worth quoting:

> The dominant purpose of the Association will be to test out in the training school the principles of psychology and education taught in the professional courses in the training department of the institution with the view of eliminating such instruction as will not stand the test of sound experience. This will mean the complete unifying, harmonizing and simplifying of the whole scheme of supervised student teaching.[3]

With a new idea, brought forth at the right time, nurtured by the almost evangelical zeal of a small group of brilliant men and women, this national organization was born and had its infancy as a professional association with its own specialized but far from narrow concern for supervised student teaching.

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[3] Cummins, R. A. "Supervised Student Teaching." *Educational Administration and Supervision 6:* 109-11; April 1920.

An examination of papers presented during the first ten years of the organization's existence shows that its programs followed closely the avowed purposes expressed in the first constitution. Eighty-four papers were read at the first ten annual meetings. Of these, thirty-three dealt with the administration of programs of student teaching and of laboratory schools; thirty-eight discussed, largely in a descriptive fashion, the details of student teaching, including observation and participation; eight discussed the theory and practice of supervision; and five reported on current research or the annual activities of the Committee on Research. General eagerness to learn what other institutions were doing was reflected in an analysis of the sources from which the writers derived their content. Local practices were described in thirty papers; an equal number of writers expressed their personal opinions and philosophy about important problems in administration and supervision; ten reports shared the results of questionnaires sent to various institutions; and fourteen were reports of scientific research studies in which the findings were subjected to statistical treatment.

The enthusiasm of its members and the fruitfulness of its annual programs carried the new Association through its first ten years. Espousing no single theory of learning or of professional education, the Association helped supervisors and directors of teacher education, many of them new to this work and employed in all types of public and private institutions, to explore ways in which the practical experiences of future teachers might be more effectively planned, directed, and evaluated. The new Association, operating with a minimum of administrative structure, conducted activities during this decade which established it as a developing link between the academic and professional faculties of institutions of higher education. The Association provided a unique opportunity for public school teachers and professors to mingle on a friendly, informal, but professional basis and share their pride and enthusiasm in a common effort.

The decade of the Great Depression brought new problems which tested the strength of the ten-year-old organization. Continuing to deal with the same problems, led by the same purposes which had invigorated the early years of the Association's existence, limited by meager funds and declining membership to the same pattern of annual meetings and publications, the still enthusiastic leaders found rough going in trying to hold the organization together during these troublesome years. It is a tribute to the sturdy growth during the 1920's that the Directors of Supervised Student Teaching managed to survive repeated efforts to promote an affiliation with one of several older and more firmly established national associations.

Twice during the early years of the Depression the membership was challenged to help teachers break the pattern of docility and conformity which so often characterized their profession and to take an aggressive position of leadership in the disturbed political, social, and economic life of the times. In addressing the annual meeting in 1933, Thomas Alexander of Teachers College, Columbia University, proposed that "we make a frontal attack upon the forces which are destroying our American institutions today." At the same meeting, Goodwin Watson, also of Teachers College, Columbia University, pleaded that the time had come for schools to replace the competitive, memoriter, conservative patterns of education with an emphasis upon democratic participation, problem solving, and progressive acceptance of change in conventional social, political, and economic patterns of life. But these radical voices apparently left only temporary impressions upon their hearers, for in the following year the annual program of the organization was built around descriptions of supervisory practices at ten well-known colleges and universities and a research report of such practices at forty-one other unnamed institutions. In fact, an analysis of the seventy-eight papers presented during the second decade shows marked similarity to those read during the first ten annual meetings. The travail of the Progressive Education Association passed almost unnoticed; the National Survey of the Education of Teachers drew the attention only of the members who took part in a joint meeting with the American Association of Teachers Colleges. Little that could be said about the functions of a campus laboratory school and the work of the supervisor of student teachers had been left unsaid. Little new could be said about the importance of student teaching, the need for a laboratory school, and the characteristics of competent supervision. Repetition of recognized truths was becoming somewhat obvious. In retrospect one can see that the Association had acquired a tunnel vision of its work as a professional organization. Further improvement of student teaching was unlikely until changes were made in the whole process of teacher education, of which student teaching was but a part.

A broader vision of what the Association should be doing was developed under the leadership of Edith E. Beechel, who was president from 1939 to 1941. She foresaw the importance of the appointment by the American Council on Education of a Subcommittee on Teacher Education Problems and had herself been appointed by the Executive Committee of the Association as a consultant to the study undertaken by the Council in 1938.

Three events during Edith Beechel's presidency set the Association upon a new course. To stimulate a higher quality of supervision of student teaching throughout the entire country, the Association created an organization of State Representatives, Research Leaders, and Area Councilmen, eventually numbering over one hundred and thirty persons, who were responsible for stimulating local and state conferences for public school and college supervisors and directors of student teaching and for the formation, wherever possible, of state or regional units. In her own state of Ohio, Edith Beechel supported the formation in May 1939 of the first organized state unit at Ohio University (Athens) where she was director of the campus laboratory school. Then in the summer of 1939, the Executive Committee held the first of the summer workshops which have continued to this day as one of the most effective activities sponsored by the Association for Student Teaching.

These organizational innovations might have mattered little had not the professional concerns of the Association been set in a broader context. President Beechel proposed that the theme of the first summer workshop, at Pineville, Kentucky, be the report issued by the American Council on Education's Subcommittee. This report was entitled *Major Issues in Teacher Education*. As the theme for the second workshop, held in 1940, the Executive Committee selected "The Study of a Region (the TVA)—A Cooperative Venture in Teacher Education," a general topic continued in the 1941 workshop at Lake Allegan, Michigan. For a brief time, at least, the concerns of the Association were lifted from the laboratory school to the whole process of teacher education and to the life of the community of which the school is a part.

Much of the impetus which had come to the Association during the prewar years seemed to disappear as every activity except an annual meeting of the Executive Committee was ended by World War II. Nevertheless, the seeds of a new birth had been planted, and when President Camilla Low addressed the small membership in 1944, she found a receptive audience. President Low pointed out that concentration on the administration of student teaching programs and on the supervision of student teachers had limited the vision of the Association. She appealed for an opening of the boundaries between theory and practice, between the school and the community, and between the preservice and in-service training of teachers. She urged that the Association cooperate more closely with other professional organizations and that the older limitation of student teaching and laboratory schools be broadened to include direct and varied experiences with a wide range of school and community activities. Consequently, in 1945 the Executive Committee agreed to cooperate with the American Association of Teachers Colleges in its extended study of revised standards for the accreditation of student teaching and joined with the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education in its efforts to coordinate the work of kindred professional organizations.

Thus the life of the Association was being renewed and enriched. In 1945 the name was changed to the Association for Student Teaching and membership was extended to all whose work affected the professional education of teachers. State and regional units, whose development had started in 1939, received a further emphasis. Cooperation with the American Association of Teachers Colleges resulted in the publication in 1948 of *School and Community Laboratory Experiences in Teacher Education*, written by Margaret Lindsey and inspired, for the most part, by Florence Stratemeyer. This study stimulated the Association into a new concept of its basic concern in the teacher education process. The attention which the report received, except from the national accrediting agencies, marked the beginning of the growth in membership and professional status that occurred during the next four years. Successive national workshops and meetings of state and regional conferences studied the implications of the report and brought to the Association that surge of membership which continues to this day.

So long as the Association made the supervision of student teaching the focus of its attention, it tended to ignore, with occasional exceptions, the other components which were influencing all parts of the professional program for teachers. Student teaching had become in most institutions–and continues to this day in too many–an isolated, culminating course taken for credit, perhaps in a school removed from the campus, and directed by administrators and supervisors who are involved only in a minor way in the total professional curriculum of the college or university. So long as the Association operated independently of the larger and more powerful organizations which were dealing with the total program of teacher education, its influence was minimal in bringing about those changes which were organizationally related to the improvement of the very program of preservice experiences so ably fostered by the membership of the Association itself. In the 1940's this tunnel vision was corrected, and the Association was never the same again.

However, without one additional innovation even these new moves might have been of diminished significance. In 1947, L. O. Andrews proposed that the Executive Committee begin to study intensively, through appointed committees, the major issues which confronted teacher education. Louise Willson Worthington, who was president in 1947-48, appointed nine of these committees, each charged to study intensively a broad problem area which could later become the focus of a yearbook. Up to 1947 the Association was the extension of the leadership of the president and of the activities of individual leaders; since 1948 the contributions of the Association have come from the work of committees and commissions whose leadership largely characterized the Association, no matter who chanced to become president. From that year to this, yearbooks have been products of committees, often including involvement of other professional organizations. Important themes were treated at state and regional conferences, at annual meetings, and at summer workshops. Membership grew, dues increased, and the creation of a central office and the eventual appointment of a full-time executive staff became inevitable.

When the membership of the Association became four times the average membership during the preceding thirty years, the Executive Committee properly studied new ways of meeting the needs of these new members, many of whom were supervising teachers in public schools. After 1945, the *AST News Letter*, published two or three times a year, supplemented the yearbooks as a means to this end. In 1950, Edgar M. Tanruther, then of Miami University, was appointed chairman of a committee with instructions to secure manuscripts and publish them as bulletins, each addressed to a specific problem of concern to supervising teachers. Thus was started a bulletin series which has continued and which has proved useful to the thousands of persons who receive it. A less ambitious series of research bulletins, whose publication was started in 1957, has become another means of disseminating more sophisticated ideas among those engaged in teacher education. National clinics, the first of which was sponsored in 1958 by the Kentucky State Unit, have brought many hundreds of persons to centers of teacher education throughout the nation for concentrated study of specific problems and programs. These clinics continue to be one of the most effective innovations for workers who are most seriously interested in the improvement of student teaching. The annual *Annotated Bibliography on the Professional Education of Teachers*, initiated under the direction of Florence Stratemeyer as a feature of the 1936 Yearbook and now published separately under the direction of Margaret Lindsey, has been an increasingly valuable service not only to the members of the Association but to others engaged in the professional education of teachers.

And so the Association for Student Teaching, which was reborn midway in its fifty-year career, can look back with pardonable satisfaction upon the fulfillment of the new vision which was only a set of ideas twenty-five years ago. With equal pride, the sixty-five persons who gathered in Thorpe Hall of Northwestern University in 1946, at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Banquet, were able to see fulfilled the ideas of the founders of the organization a quarter-century before. But gazing back with pride and contemplating even the present with satisfaction has never for long been the habit of this Association. The minutes of at least seventy-five successive Executive Committee meetings, the messages of many of the new presidents who have addressed the members in the *News Letter*, the reports of four committees appointed to study the functions which the Association should be fulfilling make obvious that at no time since the renaissance which started in 1939 has this Association been satisfied with what it was doing. At times, what it should be doing has not been altogether clear; at times the self-image of the Association has been confused. A sense of guilt at its own shortcomings can be inferred from the frequency with which the Executive Committee has turned to a series of committees, each of which might have been given the title of the last one: the Committee on Future Directions for AST.

The closing paragraph of the message which George Myers, president during 1965-66, sent to the membership in the Spring 1965 *News Letter* reads:

> As we move along the road ahead, we may not succeed in doing all that we hope to do, but we seem determined to give it an all-out try. We have no alternatives if we are to be able to maintain and improve the quality of laboratory experience programs, handle more students, expand our research and publications, and make available to the profession the kind of competent leadership that it has come to expect from our Association.

Just as the Association brought a new name into the organizational structure of higher education in 1920, so this year a new name is introduced: the

Association of Teacher Educators. Our charter members devised a new constitution; so have we. This constitution promises to continue the means which have worked so effectively in bringing our Association to its present style of activity. Its emphasis upon the value of personal association with professional colleagues, its open door for leadership, its democratic invitation for participation by all members regardless of race, creed, or level of specialization, and its commitment to the production and dissemination of publications continue the best traditions of our past.

Unlike that first constitution the present document does not contain the words *supervisor*, *supervision*, *student teaching*, or the modern equivalent, *professional laboratory experience*. It recognizes that "the quality of education depends *in part* upon the effectiveness of teaching" and makes no claim that theory tested in the laboratory school will "unify, harmonize, and simplify the whole scheme of supervised student teaching."

Today this Association recognizes that in the years ahead we shall be dealing with proposals which range from the termination of all professional theory courses prior to various forms of extended internship to plans for creating Education Professions Institutes, as proposed by James Stone, or new training complexes or centers which would replace entirely the work done traditionally by departments of education on college and university campuses. Extensive periods of observation, participation, and student teaching, planned as uniform, block activities for large groups of students, would be replaced by a highly individualized series of truly laboratory experiences where closed-circuit TV, microteaching, computer-assisted learning, simulation activities, apprentice teaching, and extended internships with salary will bring the reality of the school and community into the professional laboratory center. As such changes become established they will threaten our present pattern of professional teaching assignments and probably make it financially impossible for many of the smaller colleges to continue as teacher education institutions. The Ford Foundation will not always have its checkbook open to us. A federal administration committed to a balanced budget may not support the experimentation needed to test and structure these innovations.

During the first decade of the life of this Association, research into the teaching-learning process concentrated upon a job analysis of the duties, personality, and character of excellent or successful teachers. W.W. Charters and Franklin Bobbitt spoke before our annual meetings supporting the extensive research then in progress. In the same decade, Sidney L. Pressey was developing the first crude teaching machines which would enable pupils to improve their spelling and basic arithmetic and recall of facts important to the drillmaster who devised the teaching tapes.

In a sense both of these proposals are before us today and this Association will need to deal with them critically and constructively. Although the shift is to teacher-pupil interaction, much of the emphasis is upon what the teacher must learn to do if he is to stimulate learning defined as changes in behavior. Researchers are busy analyzing teachers' questions, their voice levels, their bodily movements, and other interaction strategies just as earnestly as Charters studied their doings, traits of personality, and character. We are cautioned by B. F. Skinner that we can no longer depend upon the wisdom of personal experience—allegedly the indispensable contribution of the supervising teacher—and that the answers we need must come from experimental study of the technology of teaching. We must teach, of course, but we must recognize that we do not yet adequately understand the processes we are using or the processes by which the individual learns.

In the meantime, we shall need to prepare teachers who can confront the bewildering array of technological tools which are being offered by industry, often unsuitable imitations of equipment already manufactured for use in the business world. Now that Arthur Jensen has revived the nature-nurture issue, it appears at times as though the past is repeating itself before our eyes.

Are there implications here for the future concerns of our non-student teaching association? The current emphasis upon a behavioral psychology must be greeted with critical but skeptical acclaim. Predetermining desired pupil behaviors may well limit programmed learning to those behaviors which can be assured by a teaching machine. Evaluating the outcomes of the learning process as one analyzes the input-output achievement of mechanical equipment is a metaphor subject to certain dangers. The philosophical question of the ends to be achieved still remains. In the hands of the average teacher and the average administrator who so misunderstood innovations put forth during the past, programmed learning can lead us to an authoritarian school and then to an authoritarian society. Unless we develop in a new teacher a sound philosophical basis for his use of the findings of research, unless we sharpen critical judgment as well as sensitivity to childrens' ability to discern our subtle indoctrinations, we shall lose the promise that lies in current studies of the learning process. This Association must be challenged to reap the harvest of current research, mindful that the Promised Land has eluded us before and may do so again.

Another challenge faces us, one that has its roots in one of the most obvious omissions of the past. We failed in the 1930's to rise to the call of George Counts when he asked the schools to get busy trying to change a social order which seemed to be falling to pieces. Recall the earlier reference to the appeals of Thomas Alexander and Goodwin Watson that the schools—and the institutions which prepared teachers—make "a frontal attack upon the forces which are destroying our American institutions today." The answer—to the shame of the profession—was a philosophy of adjustment to the status quo.

Today we see our teachers going into schools torn by racial strife, peopled by children improperly fed, not merely at lunchtime, but from the day of conception. We see teachers ill-trained for teaching disadvantaged children and youth and good teachers avoiding the schools of the inner city. We see in the power structure of some of our boards of education the same men who are defying efforts to clean our rivers, air, and land of pollution which represents their profits but the death of our waters, animals, and perhaps people. We see the same competitive motivations which have fostered an indifference to the quality of life still present in the grading systems, the athletic programs, and the economic ideology taught in our social studies. A whole generation that makes up the silent majority that has gone through our schools supports a way of life they have not tried to understand, proclaims Mayor Daley and Attorney General Mitchell as the guardians of law and order, and dismisses Karl Menninger's *The Crime of Punishment*[4] as evidence of how we have gone soft on criminals. Drugs in our schools–down to the fifth and sixth grades–strange new sex mores adopted by even our youngest adolescents, policemen walking the halls, parents clamoring for our professional scalps so that persons who "understand their children" can be put behind the desks–these are the realities. The list could be multiplied to your utter boredom–or horror. But this is the real world of the teacher; this is the challenge to those who are preparing simulation tapes and audiovisual records for our prospective teachers. Let these young people hear and see the obscenities, the violence, the aversion to boring teachers and autocratic administrators which today we can, for the most part, only read about in "Teacher Talk" and other narratives of protest against the bureaucracy which is called public education.

As an Association we have become increasingly concerned with the creation of a truly professional teacher. That raises two questions, among others: Who shall control our schools? and Who shall speak for those who control them?

This Association must raise the question of who shall control, that is, who shall be the efficient cause of change or continued inertia in teacher education in the years ahead. The teaching profession? The state board of education? The organized local community? Or some bewildering fusion of every institutional and professional group which is touched by the whole process of education? As I look at some of the charts proposed as models of total democracy in planning, administering, supporting, and evaluating teacher education, my head swims and my mind reels. All too well do some of us know that the world can blow up or die with a whimper while seventeen committees are passing down the chain of command what each one thinks should be done. The inherent capability of a burgeoning bureaucracy to block action should alert this Association to re-study the Law of Parsimony. One wonders, sometimes, whether we may not be too democratic–with a small *d*.

Preparing new teachers to be wise in their promotion of organized professional action groups, whether devised by the NEA or the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) or whatever comes out of their ultimate fusion, is another concern that must be on the minds of this Association. Let us say a last hurrah to that old submissiveness, the genuflection before the majesty of the building principal, the teachers' willingness to let their betters make decisions about textbooks, courses of study, assignments, policies of discipline, salaries, and tenure. When two years ago I joined 20,000 teachers on the steps of the state capitol in Harrisburg in an open protest against political welshing on election promises to raise salaries, listened to the angered complaints of the teachers near me, and heard their vocal rejection of the clichés of speakers who came to defend the inactivity of the administration, I sensed that a new day had come. If we want wise, restrained, but firm organized action by teachers in the years to come we shall have to start in our classes in sociology, in political science, in our professional seminars to face up to this aspect of the real world that faces the teaching profession.

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[4] New York: Viking Press, 1968.

One could go on predicting new problems, sharing hopes and fears. Basically the confrontations that will challenge us are challenges to our values and attitudes. We shall need to be receptive but philosophically critical of many new ideas. This means that our values need to be created out of the stuff of examined experience and not accepted as we once accepted truth from our mother's knee, or as Dean Acheson has wisely said, "from any other joint." To the tasks of the future we must bring the wisdom but not the prejudices of the past. If we remember that, in the last analysis, the teacher teaches not information and principles and skills but *himself*, as Broudy has so wisely reminded us, this Association can plan its strategies for the next fifty years, order its priorities, and be of service to its growing membership and through them to the children in our schools.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Introduction

Martin Haberman

Those who would remake the world are forever "young"; those who have given up trying in the face of insurmountable realities are "mature." This symposium is devoted to neither, but to a third group—those who tirelessly grapple with realities they appreciate as formidable—the "responsibly restless."

Like others, teacher educators learn from experience. But our past achievements were negotiated in social situations which can never be recaptured, and merely to seek to replicate, to implement what we "know," is to risk becoming prisoners of success. To the degree that we can respond with only proven ideas, we become yesterday's people. The most inconsistent are not those who make constant responses in the face of new demands.

Most teacher educators, at some point in their careers, have fought for and institutionalized important changes in teacher education programs. And now it is difficult for us—former heroes—to be cast in the role of obstructionists and even to consider the possibility that what we've done may have contributed to present inequities. Others of us are ready to move on, but we are summoned to charge in random directions. We need help in identifying the critical areas in which to work toward change and the strategies for how-to-do-it.

Formerly it would have been ludicrous to contend that mere survival was a worthwhile human goal. Now day-to-day living has become a high art. Unimaginable physical changes have been overlayed with a human condition so complex that the mind boggles at its contemplation. With the help of ideas presented in the following papers, we will gain some insight into which social forces and conditions we should try to connect with elements of teacher education programs. Such connections are the very stuff of that illusory term *relevance*.

Barbara Sizemore's paper, "Social Organizations and Institutions in Relation to the Professional Education of Teachers," emphasizes the problem of racism and establishes equal access to educational opportunity as the primary goal for all levels of schooling in a free society. Nicholas Masters stresses the problem of bureau pathology which immobilizes schools of education. His paper, "Politics and Power Related to Educating Teachers," provides a basis for understanding the nature of non-change and the likelihood that important shifts can be initiated from within teacher education. Maxine Greene discusses the issue of value conflict. Her insightful paper, "Values in Society and Teacher Education," describes the nature of youth culture, its ideals and morality. It is useful for setting educational objectives and for understanding the college youth who present themselves to be educated for teaching. All the papers deal with the conditions in the social context to which teacher education programs must be addressed in order to be relevant, that is, to be connected with life in ways which will improve the human condition.

Social Organizations and Institutions in Relation to the Professional Education of Teachers

Barbara A. Sizemore

Many sociologists have affirmed that modern man is highly organized, and many studies have been made of his organizational life. Blau and Scott say that even when men who are living together do not deliberately plan and institute a formal organization, a social organization develops among them and "their ways of acting, of thinking, and in particular of interacting with one another come to assume distinct regularities."[1] They indicate that the two main types of social conditions which provide the two basic aspects of social organizations are (a) the structure of social relations in a group or larger collectivity of people, and (b) the shared beliefs and orientations that unite the members of the collectivity and guide their conduct. Blau and Scott contrast social organizations with formal organizations which have deliberately been established for the distinctive purpose of achieving certain goals. Schools are service organizations whose prime beneficiary is the student.

While man is a social animal, his activity is subject to habitualization.[2] Berger and Luckmann say that the processes of habitualization precede any institutionalization which occurs "whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors."[3] These typifications are available to all members of the particular social group, and the institution typifies individual actors as well as individual actions. Berger and Luckmann explain further:

> Institutions further imply historicity and control. Reciprocal typifications of actions are built up in the course of a shared history. They cannot be created instantaneously. . . . Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products. It is impossible to understand an institu-

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[1] Blau, Peter M., and Scott, W. Richard. *Formal Organizations.* San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962. pp. 2-8.

[2] Berger, Peter L., and Luckmann, Thomas. *The Social Construction of Reality.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1966. p. 50.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

> tion adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced. Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible. It is important to stress that this controlling character is inherent in institutionalization as such, prior to or apart from any mechanisms of sanctions specifically set up to support an institution.[4]

Although Janowitz prefers not to use the terms interchangeably, he emphasizes the sociological contribution to educational policy and practice which has "broadened to include a concern with the school as a social institution, that is, as a social system." He explains that "social institution" includes a more concrete dimension than does "social system," which encompasses empirical realities: "One sees the physical structure, the community setting, and the human beings involved, as well as the persistent patterns of behavior."[5]

Janowitz goes on to describe schools as people-changing institutions, giving treatment, for the school has been assigned the task of socializing or re-socializing the motives and values of its pupils, in a manner comparable to that of the mental hospital or the correctional institution. Yet he describes the school as "a social institution" which has "characteristics and features that conform to generalized notions of a large-scale organization" but which has "very distinctive characteristics arising out of its particular goals and its operational logic."[6] He argues for change due to its failures.

These failures are dramatized in the press by reports of student unrest and violence, teacher militancy and incompetency, parent hostility and apathy, and the taxpayers' revolt. Recently, the achievement scores of the New York City Public Schools and the Chicago Public Schools confirmed the expectations of below-average scores for the majority of students in those schools. Accounts have been written of radical experiments which various systems have tried in order to reverse this tide. One account ended as follows:

> The list of experiments is a long one. Educators are beginning to wonder if entire big-city school systems can be improved by adopting the experiments that are successful at individual schools.
>
> Right now, all the educators know is that some of the experiments are helping some big-city pupils.[7]

Everyone agrees that change is difficult to initiate in the public school because of resistance. Once again Janowitz illustrates this point:

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[5] Janowitz, Morris. "Institution Building in Urban Education." *Innivation in Mass Education.* (Edited by David Street.) New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969. p. 274.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[7] Havemann, Joel. "Two Cities' Radical Methods To Combat School Failures." *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 16, 1970. p. 18.

> The result is that the urban public school system is viewed by citizen leadership and even experts as an excessively rigid organization that has great difficulty in dealing with innovation, whether the issue be academic policy, vocational program, or social climate. The rigidities of the system mean that it has a low capacity to meet the needs of whole groups of students as well as of individual youngsters.[8]

He further describes three images of the administration which are repeatedly applied: (a) the inner-city school is "highly overcentralized" and consequently lacks innovation and flexibility; (b) the inner-city school is highly uniform and routinized, with little capability for change; and (c) the public school system is "an organization that suffers because of the absence of standards of performance, that is, it lacks criteria for judging effectiveness and efficiency." Janowitz proposes a new conceptual model for change.[9]

Many argue that the schools reflect the times. Arthur Schlesinger calls this time *The Crisis of Confidence*[10] resulting from (a) a dissociation of power and ideas; (b) a failure to control national violence; (c) a revolt of the estranged and the excluded; (d) a misperception of America's role in the world; and (e) the ineffective political leadership of the United States. He pleads for the continuance of the rational process and the restoration within the United States of a vital sense of a national community.

Margaret Mead adds that we have progressed from a postfigurative culture wherein situational factors are transmitted from the ancestors to a prefigurative culture wherein situational factors are controlled by the young. She proposes that "we must create new models for adults who can teach their children, not what to learn, but how to learn, and not what they should be committed to, but the value of commitment."[11]

Jules Henry questions our ability to comply with Mead's proposition. He says "American education is bleak; so bleak indeed that, on the whole, educators, having long ago abandoned the ideal of enlightenment, concentrate on tooling up."[12] For Henry, several factors constrict education: the political economy and its need for rampant consumption of the gross national product, wars, and the occupational systems which demand stupidity and vulnerability. The educational system must then aim at a steady state. He explains this state:

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[8] Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-94.

[10] Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969.

[11] Mead, Margaret. *Culture and Commitment.* Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1970. p. 92.

[12] Henry, Jules. "Is Education Possible? Are We Qualified To Enlighten Dissenters?" *Public Controls for Non-Public Schools.* (Edited by Donald A. Erickson.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. p. 100.

> All steady-state systems of culture are designed to develop a kind of equilibrium between, on the one hand, a spontaneity adequate to prevent a person's going to pieces when confronted with any novelty at all, and, on the other, a spontaneity so unfettered that he will propose new solutions. . . .[13]

Several questions arise after careful study of the work of these social scientists. Why is education so bleak? Why is it necessary to institutionalize to the point ot dehumanization? What discourages the utilization of rational thought and obliterates attempts at inquiry?

Berger and Luckmann say that knowledge is socially distributed, possessed differently by different individuals and types of individuals, and can become highly complex.[14] They argue that all symbolic universes and all legitimations are human products whose existence has its base in the lives of concrete individuals and has no empirical status apart from these lives. Consequently, social change must always be understood as standing in a dialectical relationship to the "history of ideas." But how is this knowledge distributed?

In our social order, it seems that knowledge is distributed by A groups (groups with power) to B groups (groups without power). This culminates in the condition of A over B.[15] Knowledge can also be withheld. Berger and Luckmann argue that those in power are ready to use that power to impose the traditional definitions of reality on the population under their authority. They say "power in society includes the power to determine decisive socialization processes and, therefore, the power to produce reality."[16] Moreover, men make reality for women, whites for blacks, and those who have money make it for the poor. The demands for changes in the educational institutions are for changes in this power arrangement. The hue and cry for community control is directed toward a correction of this A/B formula. Arguments against community control by A groups are as follows: (a) there is no black community; (b) if there is one, it cannot financially support a community school; (c) separatism is the antithesis of integration, which is the goal of a democratic society; and (d) black students learn better in schools with white peers and poor students learn better in schools with middle class peers. Berger and Luckmann describe this as a "confrontation of alternative symbolic universes" which implies a problem of power.[17]

These demands for power are derived from an ideology taken on by a group because of specific theoretical elements that are conducive to its interests. Every group in social conflict must achieve solidarity, and ideologies generate solidarity.[18] The resistance to white supremacy and European superiority by blacks and to property owners by the poor is endemic to the struggle for community control. The schools financed by the property tax remain in the hands of the property owners who wish to obtain the best education possible for their own children with the lowest tax attainable for the maintenance of the status quo.[19] The professional educators are their overseers.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[14] Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 107-18.

[15] Tax, Sol. "The Freedom To Make Mistakes." *Documentary History of the Fox Project.* Exhibit 44. (Edited by Fred Gearing, Robert McNetting, and Lisa R. Peattie.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. pp. 245-50.

[16] Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

James Koerner makes the reader abundantly aware that "the important decisions in education emerge from a labyrinthine structure of forces and countervailing forces, but that the interests of professional educators tend to be dominant." He issues several caveats: (1) laymen need to sensitize themselves to the limitations of educational expertise; (2) care must be taken in planning for the redistribution of taxes and the reduction of federal moneys through inept state departments; and (3) analyses and evaluations should be made of new coalitions of specialists, for they may not be very good for restoring the layman to a position of primacy.[20] He warns:

> Desirable as the latter reform might be, we must face the fact that the main currents of American educational development are flowing mostly away from the ordinary citizen and toward a new coalition of specialists—school administrators, classroom teachers, academicians, federal and state educational officials, along with an assortment of other kinds of specialists (foundation, testing, accrediting, and manufacturing-publishing executives) that I have discussed. Laymen will probably attain a greater voice in inner-city education, but no one can predict with what results, nor is there any reason to think that the lay role will enlarge in other educational areas.[21]

Koerner adds that the whole concept of local control of education is frequently undermined by the failure of the local board itself to exert the powers everybody says it has. But controls from outside the school system are even more important in eroding a school board's power than its own failures: (a) the state board of education, (b) professional organizations, (c) accrediting agencies, (d) institutions of higher education, and (e) the taxing power of the municipal government. There is every prospect that the freedom of local boards will be reduced substantially everywhere except in big cities.[22]

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[19] Coleman, James S. "The Struggle for Control of Education." Paper prepared for a Symposium on Social Policy: Local Control of Education, University of Saskatchewan, October 5-7, 1967.

[20] Koerner, James D. *Who Controls American Education?* Boston: Beacon Press, 1968. Copyright 1968 by the Council for Basic Education. Chapter 4, "Restoring a Balance of Powers in Education," pp. 155-74.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-30.

The reorganization movement, which is a consolidation movement, has two thrusts: (a) the pressure for increased services for rural areas requesting attachment to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's), and (b) the metropolitan movement for desegregating large cities. Reorganization for consolidation is occurring simultaneously with the movement for decentralization and community control. Koerner says that the civil rights movement is the chief impetus to metropolitanism, just as it is with big-city decentralization, but that metropolitanism is a far more difficult and possibly more dangerous change to bring about because it appears to many whites as a threat to the quality of their local schools as well as a death warrant for the kind of local schools that now prevail in the suburbs.[23]

Change is required if the schools are to be improved, and this change is sure to affect the professional education of teachers who maintain the system. It was hoped that demands by teachers unions for an enhanced role in making school policy would lead to the improvement of education. But the recent conflict in Ocean Hill-Brownsville probably represents the future where teachers join hands with professional educators to continue the rigid, uniform, and prudential educational institutions now known. This would truly be unfortunate, for Koerner believes that the professional educators lack solidarity, strong intellectual inquiry, internal criticism, and tolerance of outside criticism.[24] He charges that their organizations are sterile and further aggravate conditions.

Koerner even accuses the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) of being dominated by these professional educators who maintain "narrow and inelastic standards" unrelated to "the quality of people turned out of the training programs." He further states that "other groups, such as the powerful American Association of School Administrators, still use NCATE as a bludgeon with which to beat all preparing institutions into line, simply by refusing membership to anybody not a graduate of an NCATE school." He holds out small hope to those expecting change from NCATE. In fact, he says that the "NCATE still dominates the largest part of our system of higher education and is worth the close attention of anybody who thinks the old establishment is losing its grip."[25]

To bring about improvement, several approaches have been suggested: (a) restructure the social system of the school, (b) change the teachers, (c) change the students and their parents, or (d) change the total environment. Advocates of the first approach are those who suggest aggregation models, decentralization, and community control. Adherents of the second approach want to change the education of teachers and to design in-service programs for attitudinal change.

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-37.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

Proponents of the third approach proselytize mental health programs, specialization and early education models, and compensatory remedial tutoring programs. Change-of-environment apostles desire aggregation models which afford the opportunity for a mutuality of effort with other agencies, organizations, and institutions in the community.

Janowitz poses that institution building cannot be accomplished by a single drastic act and that comprehensive conceptual models of education are needed.[26] Firmly entrenched as they are in the social sciences, it is probably fit that new educational models should emerge from there.

Getzels has constructed a conceptual scheme for studying behavior in a social system,[27] and Janowitz has devised an aggregation model for organizational change. Both of these models provide the framework for restructuring the social system within the total environment so that flexibility, deviance, and measures of effectiveness and efficiency can exist. The study of social organizations and institutions becomes very relevant to the professional education of teachers. Both models require a liberal arts education plus clinic exposure to diversified experiences in community and educational practice and in-service training in professional and curriculum development.[28]

Teachers and the professional bureaucracy generally make the decisions in the public school system. They are the A groups. Students and their parents are the B groups. A has power over B. Consequently, models are generally chosen to preserve and maintain this relationship. The three most frequently implemented are (a) the mental health model, (b) the early education model, and (c) the specialization model.

The mental health model is predicated on the assumption that the client is sick and needs therapy. One of the mechanisms for dealing with deviant symbolic universes is therapy. For scientifically and rationally, "therapy entails the application of conceptual machinery to ensure that actual or potential deviants stay within the institutionalized definitions of reality." Berger and Luckmann, describing therapy as a global phenomenon, say "its specific institutional arrangements, from exorcism to psychoanalysis, from pastoral care to personnel counseling programs, belong, of course, under the category of social control."[29] Everyone is kept in his place. By consigning the demands to an inferior ontological status, they cannot be taken seriously and are thereby excluded from the existing symbolic universe.[30]

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[26] Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[27] Getzels, Jacob W.; Lipham, James M.; and Campbell, Roald F. *Educational Administration as a Social Process.* New York: Harper & Row, 1968. pp. 52-108.

[28] Janowitz, *op cit.*, pp. 302-303.

[29] Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

In their studies (in Woodlawn, one of the ten poorest of the seventy-five Chicago community areas), Kellam and Schiff report that 70 percent of 2,000 first-grade children failed to adapt to classroom expectations as reported in the first marking period on the report card by their teachers.[31] The teachers' judgment was the criterion for the need for therapy. The rationalization made was that everybody is judged by someone and that the individual must learn to adapt to be successful. First, this judgment is not unlike the expectations discovered by Rosenthal and Jacobson[32] in their study of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Also, there is some confusion about the definition of adaptation. Cobbs and Grier's work[33] indicates that black people cannot adapt in the normal sense in many instances because such adaptation means destruction or genocide. Adaptation, then, is maladaptation, which is the only kind possible in a hostile environment. Moreover, in mental health models, the other dimensions of the social system are ignored. Teachers' cultures, expectations, roles, and personality need-dispositions remain unexplored. No criteria are developed for the study of disparities between the cultural values of the institution and those of the client, and the biological dimensions are unexamined. The mental health model seems too limited for the solution of the system's problems.

The early education model is based on the assumption that the home is the worst place the child could be, the parents are inimical to his intellectual growth, and the sooner the school intervenes, the better. The ties with the parent are weakened and appear almost nonexistent during the period of 14-18 years when instruction and recruitment by the peer group occur. Janowitz wisely argues that a counterstrategy of intervention with this 14-18-year-old male group is plausible, for they have the "greatest impact on the moral and social climate of the school." He continues:

> In this group are opinion leaders in the slum youth culture and the effective bearers of the culture of the slum from one generation to the next. If these youngsters develop a sense of frustration and a group life in opposition to the goals of the school, as they generally do, they are able to thwart innovation. The case can be made, therefore, that this group, not the youngest group, represents the highest priority if comprehensive change is to be effected.[34]

Yet when The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) attempted to do just that with their million dollar youth program, Mayor Daley interfered by failing to cooperate in the selection of a director, and subsequently, Senator McClellan investigated TWO and the Reverend Dr. Arthur Brazier for their involvement with the youth gangs, as they were called.[35] The selection of programs for B groups must remain in A group hands to preserve the relationship of A over B.

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[31] Kellam, Sheppard G., and Schiff, Sheldon K. "A Mental Health View of the Community," April 1968. (Mimeographed)

[32] Rosenthal, Robert, and Jacobson, Lenore. *Pygmalion in the Classroom.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

[33] Grier, William H., and Cobbs, Price M. *Black Rage.* New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

[34] Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

In contrast to the above-mentioned models, the specialization model concentrates on the classroom teacher. The hoped-for effect is a change in behavior. The increased emphasis on specialized roles, however, introduces the aspect of expertise about which Koerner warned. Additionally, specialists are sometimes summoned to solve problems which need other resources such as money. Undergirding the specialization model is "an intellectualized psychology of learning rooted in individual and cognitive psychology."[36] The goal is to promote academic achievement through the restructuring of the contents of curriculum.[37] Whenever there is a problem, the specialist appears with expertise to provide the necessary input for the solution. The problem is that little consideration is given to the other roles and dimensions of the social system. Moreover, it is extremely costly and difficult to transfer in terms of skills and knowledge to the community and parents. Furthermore, specialization models are pupil-oriented and to some degree therapeutic. What is needed is a model which (a) affords the opportunity for studying the social system; (b) considers all the dimensions of the social system; (c) develops within the context of the total social reality; and (d) affects the organizational climate, the institutional milieu, and the operational elements.

The professional education of teachers must change in order (a) to create more accurate conceptual maps of reality; (b) to understand those who might want to interfere with the establishment of a truly productive institution for education; (c) to understand those whom teachers want to help, i.e., the clients who feel the institution was created to destroy them; and (d) to provide better insights into the causes of things so that more alternatives will become available for the solution of problems. The professional education of teachers must begin with knowledge, information, and skills which help people define problems. It is difficult for A groups to define B group problems. This failure at the definitional level results in solutions which are inadequate—the right solutions but to the wrong problems. This new education must equip teachers to permit students to ask questions, for the true beginning of scientific research is the question. Yet teachers are continuously asking the questions and demanding answers from the learner.

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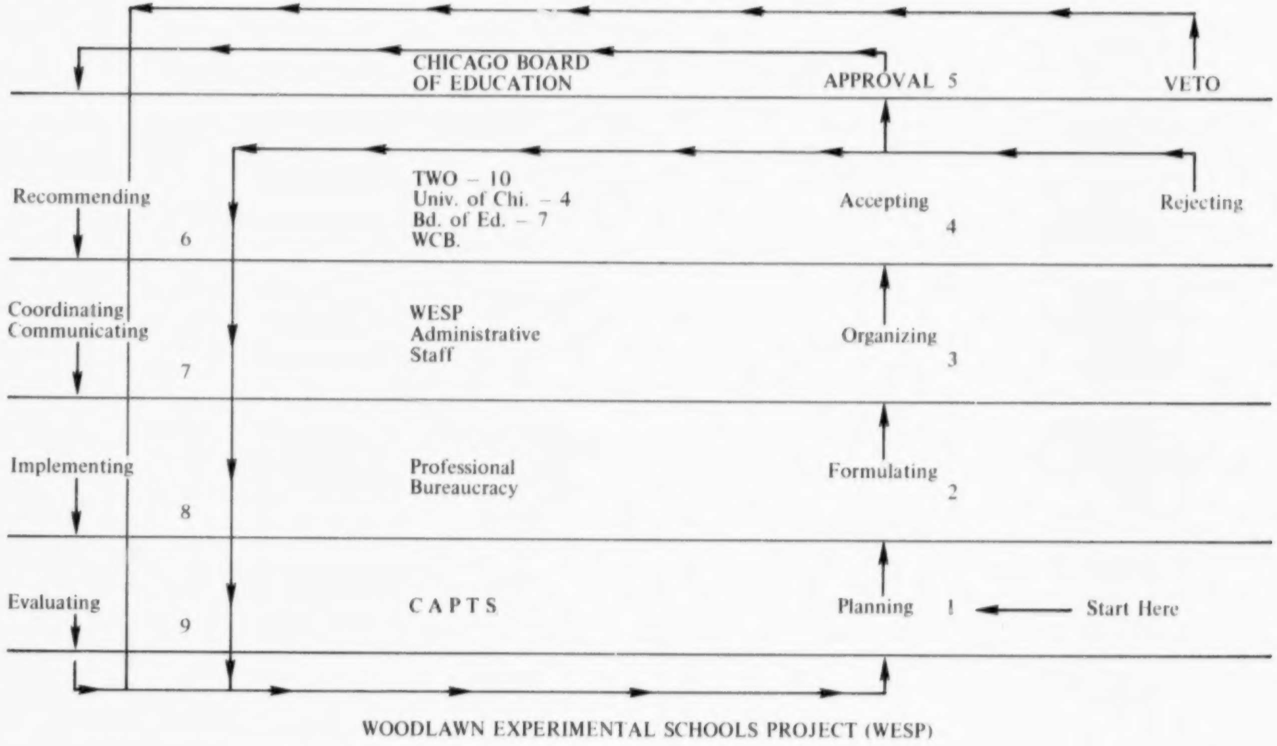
[35] Brazier, Arthur M. *Black Self-Determination.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969.

[36] Janowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[37] *Ibid.*

Figure I

THE CAPTS-WESP DECISION-MAKING MODEL


CHICAGO BOARD
OF EDUCATION
APPROVAL 5
VETO
Recommending
6
TWO – 10
Univ. of Chi. – 4
Bd. of Ed. – 7
WCB.
Accepting
4
Rejecting
Coordinating
Communicating
7
WESP
Administrative
Staff
Organizing
3
Implementing
8
Professional
Bureaucracy
Formulating
2
Evaluating
9
C A P T S
Planning
1
Start Here
WOODLAWN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROJECT (WESP)

Lastly, teachers must learn to be human. Students are demanding more from personal relations. They want to be people. Fantini[38] discusses this in terms of needs for identity, connectiveness, and power. The whole problem of institutionalized racism inhibits the humanization of education in this country. Desegregation models continue to promote racial inferiority, although equality is the purpose of the action.

Men structure their social relations in a group or larger collectivity of people and share beliefs and orientations that unite members of the collectivity and guide their conduct. The large collectivity of people in this country called Americans share beliefs of white European superiority, male superiority, and the superiority of people with money. These beliefs create three excluded groups: blacks, women, and the poor. There are estranged groups too: the old and the young.

The professional education of teachers must be humanized by concern for the inclusion of these groups in the larger collectivity of people called Americans through aggregation models (see Figure I).[39] Those in charge of teacher education must use their knowledge to change our universe, or our collective ignorance will surely destroy it.

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[38] Fantini, Mario. *Making Urban Schools Work*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

[39] Figure I: The Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project District (WESP) is government funded under Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (PL 89-10). It was proposed by the University of Chicago in collaboration with the Chicago Board of Education and The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) to improve the quality of education in three black public schools–Wadsworth Elementary, Wadsworth Upper Grade Center, and Hyde Park High School in East Woodlawn.

The objectives of the project emanate from the needs of highest priority–to restructure the school as a social system in terms of its community through mutuality of effort by subsequent interventions having two focuses: (a) roles and relationships of persons acting within the schools, and (b) roles and relationships of persons acting in the home and community. The WESP considers change in terms of how people work together as well.

The purposes of the Woodlawn Community Board (WCB) are, among other things, to review, discuss, initiate, and recommend policies and projects in urban education that will directly affect the children, adults, community, and community organizations of the Woodlawn area; and to provide a channel of communication with the institutions represented on the Board.

The first WCB consisted of seven representatives each from the Chicago Public Schools, TWO, and the University. Since then the WCB has been reconstituted: TWO has ten representatives, the University has four, and the Chicago Public Schools have seven. Members are selected by each participating institution. Each delegation elects a chairman and possesses a veto.

The Woodlawn Community Board is a practical approach for control and offers the opportunity for maximum citizen participation at the policy-making level.

CAPTS represents the collective decision-making body: C=community representatives; A=administrators; P=parents; T=teachers; S=students.

Politics and Power Related to Educating Teachers

Nicholas A. Masters

American higher education, long the pride of our nation, stands today on the brink of chaos and confusion. To be sure, the American higher education system has made gigantic strides in recent decades not only in providing educational opportunity for substantial numbers of our citizenry but also in turning out highly qualified and specialized personnel in all fields. Within the framework of our higher education system, those involved in teacher education and preparation need not take a back seat, for they, more than most, have worked steadfastly toward guaranteeing sufficient staff and supportive personnel to keep our public and private schools functioning at high levels of performance.

But looking at the political variables that affect education today, of which teacher education is an integral and essential part, one finds that much of what passes for education is inequitably financed, wastefully administered, and inferior in quality. The higher education system is so diffused, fragmented, and decentralized and its talent so maldistributed and rigidly controlled that large segments of the population, especially blacks, the urban poor, and the rural illiterate, get almost no attention, even though their educational problems are the most prevalent and difficult to cure. These people are badly served by an organizational structure that in many ways is obsolete and overstrained, that in some respects has grown up rather helter-skelter without accommodating, at least very well, to an expanding population with rising expectations brought on by a new technology.

Also, in many respects we have failed to come to grips with our environment, and the educational structure surely must bear some of the responsibility.

Although I have no intention of barraging you with statistics, we are now living in a society that has problems that are really incomprehensible except our nose hurts, our eyes water, and our lungs and throat are clogged. As former U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen said recently:

> Who, after all, can really visualize 142 million tons of pollutants discharged into the air of this country every year? What does it really

> mean to say that $20 billion is the estimated cost of the havoc wrought annually by these pollutants?
>
> Eight million junked automobiles, 26 billion discarded bottles and 48 billion cans, 150 million tons of solid wastes, 2,100 communities dumping billions of gallons of raw sewage into our waterways–these are statistics that boggle the mind, and they are repeated like clockwork every year, inching higher and higher toward the point that reads human extermination. It takes something really different–like a river so filthy it actually catches fire–to engage our jaded attention.
>
> We created this technology by exploiting our talent for invention, our dedication to learning, and willingness to work and work hard. Now we face the ultimate challenge of using these same national characteristics to regain control of our technology–lest uncontrolled it exterminates us.[1]

Commissioner Allen went on to say, "*The key to human survival is education.*"

Although I agree that education is the key to survival, it must be a key that unlocks the doors. I contend, as a political scientist who has studied the interrelationship of education and politics over the years, that the practices of academic life–and teacher education is no exception–are equivalent to laws of the Medes and the Persians: the rules and procedures must stand forever. This situation, I contend, is most unhealthy. For the most part I shall confine my statements to the internal political aspects of higher education, with special reference to teacher education.

But first I must say this. Almost any report of this kind really deals only with dimensions of the problems identified in studies. Yet we have had studies of urban education, rural education, and the ghetto dating as far back–if public attention is the principal criterion–as James Conant's *Slums and Suburbs*, published a decade ago (McGraw-Hill, 1961).

All of these studies have pointed to serious deficiencies in our educational structure which, like the problems of air pollution, are widely acknowledged and thoroughly analyzed, while little or nothing is accomplished. They are well known and carefully documented in our literature.

We do not need new studies but a new approach, an escape from organizational rigidity. Commissioner Allen is on the right track when he says, "What we need is not ingenious tinkering with the surface of our culture (and institutions) but a new vision of the possibilities of human life in our age." Some very fundamental issues face us, therefore.

To capitalize on a vastly awakened social consciousness, the people in higher education, particularly those in teacher education, must bear the responsibility of genuine *leadership*. They cannot confine their role merely to one of response or the quiet accommodation to archaic processes. The task is to formulate new programs, not merely to react to old or current protests. But can we lead in our current university structure?

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[1] From a speech to the American Council of Learned Societies. See: "Education for Survival." *American Education* 6:19-23, March 1970.

We have all seen in recent years a small but growing group of educators and students, many of them very young, leveling accusations against their own profession, who say either we are not leading or we cannot lead, or both. Some write books or articles. Others use the regular academic channels—committees, councils—to vent their grievances and attacks on the university structure, including that pertaining to teacher education. Still others complain in the halls and to their advisers in the various subject matter disciplines. The content of these accusations, as all of us know, is often tainted with viciousness.

Yet these criticisms cannot be ignored, for many of the young people are demanding that education be more relevant to the issues at hand, more forceful in its attacks on the weaknesses and inequities of our society, more responsive to social problems—particularly of the poor and of the racially segregated.

From a political standpoint, many of these attacks are unreasoned, many of them are irrelevant to the issues, and frequently the attacks become too personalized or violent to be of any meaningful value to those who are actually trying to bring about necessary changes in the direction of educational policy. In the past, some of the attacks have bordered on pure demagoguery which could only be calculated to be for personal aggrandizement. But perhaps what is fundamentally more wrong politically than anything else is that many of the individuals—no matter how well motivated—are attacking the wrong people and directing their attention to the wrong offices or the wrong procedures. They refer, as many did in the past—as I did in the past—to the "establishment" in teacher education, to the "power structure" in education. This power structure is alleged to be unresponsive, irresponsible, and self-perpetuating. It is supposed to thrive on low standards of mediocrity. Those who have the audacity to challenge it are answered by a barrage of canned rhetoric or entangled in a maze of conferences.

The new breed of critic, however, is different. Educators today are not facing the quiet, mild-mannered criticism of a James Conant. The current critics do not zero in on, say, a certification procedure or a national accrediting agency as the principal culprit. Today's critics are talking about the entire range of the teacher education enterprise. They are talking about its *purpose*, its regard of and relation to the complex substantial issues of our time. True, it is difficult to tell whether they regard this failure to be that of an establishment, even though they are so vicious in attacking one. It is difficult to say whether they feel there is an elaborate, mystical group controlled by a small number of individuals dictating a doctrine or an ideology for all to adhere to or whether they are making just a generalized charge of what they believe to be true. I doubt if there is a specific answer to that.

But after several years of assessing the political variables involved in education, I must say today, in all candor, that most of us—students of the political structure, past critics, and current protesters—are missing a basic and fundamental point: the reality in the American teacher education system. Though there may have been at one time a small group of people who established procedures and policies and controlled the ins and outs in the teacher education field and a small number of people who controlled the broader educational system, this is no longer the case. There may have been at one time something resembling an educational "establishment," but it has long since ceased to exist in any specific form. What I am about to say is almost the reverse. My point—and I hope I can make it as clearly as I feel the reality is—is this: *in terms of the formulation of educational policy at the higher level today* (and this encompasses teacher education), *there exists, not a specific group of individuals, but a body of doctrines and guidelines, almost taking on the character of major precedents, which are enforced by little groups called committees and councils which have adopted elaborate procedures and practices not equalled even by the due process requirements in our criminal courts.* The internal procedure and process are so thoroughly democratic as to enhance the capacity of any group, however small, to veto any change in academic policy.

These committees and councils are found in every nook and corner of the academic system and they are generally composed of elected members, but the members are elected by constituents to whom they are not especially responsible. The members are given equal votes and authority, but nowhere has the system made them specifically and individually accountable for their actions. Deans, vice-presidents, department chairmen have long since been stripped of any power to innovate, to redirect, to push forward in different directions on their initiative. The commitment to participatory democracy and faculty and departmental autonomy has allowed a situation to emerge where the academic enterprise is governed by a "coalition of vested interests." The disease that pervades and stifles our academic enterprise I call "program due process."

Without attempting to sound cute or sarcastic, I firmly believe that every new idea, every new program proposal in modern university structure, particularly in teacher education, is immediately put on trial. The trial, I suggest, is not one of program merit, quality, and applicability but one of guilt or innocence in terms of how the proposal affects the current vested interests and, more important, the existing allocation of resources. Moreover, program survival does not rest solely on how little anything else is disturbed. Sometimes there is an elaborate process of logrolling and backscratching, unrivaled even in the halls of Congress, in order to squeeze every possible resource or concession in policy before innovation is permitted. Such a system of decision making obviously inhibits and stifles change as well as reinforces bureaucratic inertia.

Changing the subject somewhat, experience dictates that when considering any problem overall, it is generally wise to first look at the largest single component of that problem. And as we all know, in the case of teacher education it is the colleges of education. Those who defend the current colleges of education often do so on the grounds that they are specifically tailored to our public school system and to our heavy educational commitment. One could make a complete talk on any part or subpart of this tremendous enterprise that produces and staffs our public and private school systems.

But over the past twelve months I've been looking into such matters as what I've now come to call the "oversight" function in teacher education and in higher education generally. By oversight I do not mean merely a systematic audit to see that salaries are actually being paid to real people, or that classes are actually being taught by professors, or that libraries contain the books that they list, or even a generalized quality control provided by the rules and procedures required under most state certification laws.

Actually, oversight today in our education is controlled more internally than externally. There is more resistance to change within the educational bureaucracy than from those who are supposed to constitute an establishment that controls it from the outside. We've heard a lot about certification laws, we've heard a great deal about the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. The guidelines established by the NCATE relate more to whether the institution can defend its programs than to what it specifically entails. I dare say you could draw names out of a hat for NCATE visitations and there would be little change in the results. Though at one time institutions such as Columbia University Teachers College and the University of Chicago provided inspiration and intellectual leadership, they too, according to their own accounts, have become bureaucratized, compartmentalized, and fragmented. The resources pumped in during the bountiful sixties by the Office of Education made it the principal source of innovation and change, despite Commissioner Keppel's desire to remain a "junior partner." And sad as it sounds, the Office was scarcely equipped or staffed for such a role.

We've heard it charged that the NEA has an insidious influence that pervades every state and every college of education. That, too, won't work. When the NEA's influence in urban areas diminished under union pressure, nothing changed in our colleges of education. I submit that we have met the enemy of higher education and they are us.

Results of discussions and interviews with leading deans of colleges of education throughout the United States, vice-presidents and presidents of various universities, indicate that it is virtually impossible for the leaders in education—that is to say, those charged with the formal responsibilities of leadership—to do much more than accommodate themselves to the present system, compete for outside resources, and await the results of this or that committee's deliberations.

Of the more than fifty leading educators interviewed, all but one felt that the current internal structure of the American educational system, including all the professional schools, was severely handicapped by (a) the committee structure and assignment process, (b) the rigid disciplinary boundaries, (c) the ironclad professional tenure system, (d) the lack of clerical support personnel, and (e) the rigid hiring procedures practiced by most departments. A few quotes will add some flavor to the discussion:

> A dean of a leading Midwestern college of education said: "Unless I get unlimited money from some outside source, my hands are tied. And even then there is little I can do."
>
> Another educator said: "The people in academic life who make decisions about new programs are almost as absentee landlords. They make a decision, it's binding, and they leave you high and dry with no one to talk with."
>
> A vice-president said: "With regard to questions on new programs, I can only say our committee structure is a tough nut to crack. They don't meet often, they nit-pick you to death, and then they disapprove it after you get the money."
>
> Still another dean said: "I used to believe in faculty autonomy, and I still do to some extent. But we have carried things too far. We just can't act or respond fast enough, much less lead. The latter is out of the question."

Let me use a recent study done in Columbia, South Carolina, as a case in point about the incapacity of the modern educational decision-making structure at the higher level to take cognizance of a particular situation or problem that is widely acknowledged, even where there were, unbelievingly, the resources and the incentive to do something about the problem.

The facts are these: The city of Columbia, South Carolina, has twice been awarded the title "All-American City." Driving past its plush suburban residences to the center of the city where the Civil War-scarred capital building stands on a neatly landscaped island in the middle of a thriving business district, one would scarcely believe that just beyond these obvious surface affluences lie deep pockets of poverty. Tradition-rich, charm-laced, this Southern city has had within it, although it has been sufficiently curbed, all of the explosive ingredients that in the recent past have torn the metropolitan areas of the North. With its population of approximately 275,000, Columbia's economic growth can be cited as evidence of its forward-looking stature. For example, in the last twenty years personal income was up 120 percent, manufacturing payrolls were up 192 percent, bank clearings up 170 percent, and vehicle registrations up 132 percent. And more than most Southern areas, Columbia, South Carolina, has been able to make the transition from an agricultural to an industrial community. Yet as late as 1967, seventeen of its twenty-six census tract areas could be described as blighted. Of the 73,000 families located in the area, 18,800, or 25.6 percent, had annual incomes of less than $3,000. Of low-income families, 75.8 percent are Negro. More specifically, census tract 16, commonly known as the Seaboard Park area, may be taken as somewhat typical of the deep problems that were present in the city and still are. In this particular area, for example, the following facts may be cited:

1. Of the 1,225 housing units, 80 percent are deteriorating or dilapidated.
2. Of all the houses in the area, only 12 percent are owner-occupied, 83 percent are renter-occupied, and 5 percent are unoccupied.
3. Approximately two-thirds of the houses have no bath or must share a bath with one or more families. Three-quarters of the houses have no central heating unit, which necessitates the use of space heaters thereby increasing the chance of fire, which may account for the fact that this area ranks highest in actual number of fires.
4. With the exception of the main thoroughfares, most of the streets are unpaved.

Next we get to the even more relevant statistics in Seaboard Park. Seventy-seven percent of the 4,472 residents are Negro. Only 22 percent of the area's population are in the productive age bracket, with the balance being more or less dependent. Economically, only one-third of the families earn more than $3,000 annually. Although unemployment is relatively low, with 60 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women over fourteen years of age in the labor force, underemployment is almost universal. Specifically, for our purposes here, the educational statistics are startling. They indicate that few of the children growing up in the area will be equipped to break out of the old prevailing patterns. Seaboard Park contains 1,047 individuals between the ages of five and thirty-four enrolled in public schools, ranging from kindergarten to the college level. Of this total, 1.3 percent are in kindergarten, 70 percent are in elementary school, 25 percent are in high school, and only 2 percent are in college. Approximately 50 percent of the people twenty-five years of age and older have less than an eighth-grade education; there are 265 people over twenty-five years of age who have no education, and 467 have had only a fourth-grade education or less. Only 17 percent of the potential high school graduates actually graduate.

Although this is a potentially explosive situation, Columbia even up to the present time has been almost completely free of racial demonstrations and there has been little or no rioting or agitation. There has not even been any concentrated effort to unite the black community in such a way that it could use its political potential to bargain with what may be the power of white power structure in the traditional style of upward-moving urban minority forces. Several possible explanations may be offered for this relative quiescence. Lack of organization in the black community is one important variable. Black power is as divided politically as is the black community geographically. The leadership that has emerged is fragmented and oriented to individual neighborhoods rather than widespread concern. The white leadership in the community does not feel any particular pressure from the people in these areas, and many of the wives of civic leaders rely heavily on the black community for services of maids.

The causal variables behind the lack of leadership, the lack of activity, are tangled and complex. But in the heart of this community lies the University of South Carolina. On numerous occasions we interviewed members of the staff of this prestigious Southern university, including people in the top administration and those who serve on the governing boards. Contrary to what might have been expected, we did not find at any time any particular lack of concern or any unwillingness to meet the responsibilities of so widespread despair and blight in this growing and otherwise economically affluent Southern community. We did not even find, as we did in the formal decision-making structure of businessmen and other leaders, the almost unanimous dedication to the political and social status quo.

What we did find is what is found throughout the American higher education system: a decentralized, fragmented, decision-making structure within the university, incapable of coming up with a plan or the personnel to meet educational problems at their own back door. An almost vicious cycle that is repeated in university after university was found. Talk to the president, or one of his close associates, and he immediately tells you that he has very limited authority in terms of innovation and the initiation of new programs, that these must come from the colleges themselves. You then move on and have a quiet, urbane discussion with the dean of the college. It doesn't matter necessarily which college it is, only in this case it happens to be an educational problem. He immediately tells you that he too has only very limited authority over new programs and that in order to get things approved he must go through various councils, graduate councils, new program committees, faculty senate, and various other academic groupings that have been established in order to insure quality control and, to put it quite bluntly, as one administrator in South Carolina did, to preserve the present allocation of resources. Moving downward you talk to department chairmen and they, too, tell of limited power in terms of program innovations; they talk of councils, of committees within departments, of the autonomy of professors, and of the difficulty of obtaining resources to perpetuate ongoing programs. At last you approach the individual professor and he too, although deeply concerned, feels helpless because he faces this maze of collective action that must be taken at various levels within the university before any kind of concrete decision and any kind of concrete allocation of resources can be made. The present university structure, including the disciplines in liberal arts and sciences as well as the organizational structure within the professional schools, in my opinion, is politically too rigid and too bureaucratized to meet modern-day concerns.

I would like to say, politically, that I think it is possible for these institutions to change, that our higher education system can meet the challenges of leadership in the oncoming age. However, *I doubt that this is possible* in the overwhelming majority of our institutions. I do not mean that they should cease to exist or to say that what they are doing now does not have a proper function and role in our society, but if we are going to allocate new resources, if we are going to meet new responsibilities, we are going to have to have a major change in the political and organizational structure of higher education, even to the extent of setting up some *new institutional* devices. Therefore, I am prepared at this point to make a basic recommendation that, if adopted, would lead a long way toward breaking us out of the institutional constraints and binds that we are in now.

Every standard metropolitan area in the country should create, completely separate and autonomous from any university or college, a center for urban education. The center should have a separate budget, its own personnel system, its own resources, and its own physical plant. It should be organized immediately around the kinds of situations and problems that confront our metropolitan areas today. By analogy, these centers might be conceived as equivalent to giant educational shopping centers where people at all levels and of all ages come to obtain services and the research and the skills that our society can devote to solving these complex educational problems. Perhaps these centers might be analogous to a giant Mayo-type hospital, only in this instance every conceivable educational case or problem would be brought to the attention of the center. These centers would have a definite hierarchy, with strong leadership, where we could return to the sound principle of administration that *authority is commensurate with responsibility*.

All of this is not to say that new institutional arrangements, or a reorganization of universities, require the appointment of philosopher-kings. But in all candor, can the academic enterprise, new or old, survive and flourish in a system which in part has evolved under a philosophy of white supremacy and which is now protected on substantive policy matters by an elaborate procedural network, with many hidden vetoes and traps? Should we not have the courage to trade in some of our protective devices and confine democratic processes, participatory and consultative, to the selection of key top people who will have the authority to mobilize organizational resources and thrust them on new directors?

Values in Society and Teacher Education

Maxine Greene

Not very long ago, at another moment of value conflict and diversity in America, Horace Mann expressed a hope that the public school would in time give rise to a public philosophy. By providing common experiences for all the children, rich and poor, the common school would not only "equalize"; it would serve to bridge the gulfs between different classes and nationalities; it would create a conscience for the entire community.[1] Such was the promise; such was the dream. With a vision like this in mind, it was relatively easy to say what a teacher ought to know and what a teacher ought to be. Consider Mann's assured and comforting description:

> Essential requisites in a teacher's character are a love of children, and a love of his work. He must not be a hireling. It is right that he should have a regard for his compensation; but, his compensation being provided for, it should be forgotten. To exclude the feeling of monotony and irksomeness, he must look upon his work, as ever a new one; for such it really is. The school teacher is not, as it sometimes seems to be supposed, placed upon a perpetually revolving wheel, and carried through a daily round of the same labors and duties. Such a view of his office is essentially a low and false one.[2]

Every year a new group of children appear before the teacher, "bound on the same perilous journey of life."

> He is to guide their steps aright; he is to see that before they pass from under his hands, they have some adequate conception of the great objects at which they are to aim, of the glorious destiny at which they may arrive; and that they are endued with the energy and the perseverance which will make their triumph certain. As soon as this labor is done to one company,

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[1] Cremin, Lawrence A. *The Transformation of the School.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. pp. 9-11.

[2] Mann, Horace. *Ninth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education.* Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, 1846. p. 83.

> he bids them a hasty farewell, that he may turn, with glad welcome, to hail another, more lately arrived upon the confines of existence, who ask his guidance as they are crossing the narrow isthmus of time, on their way to eternity.[3]

This talk of guidance, "great objects," and the virtues which would ensure "triumph" has a dulcet sound when we hear it now. For all the threat of "anarchy and lawlessness" in the society he saw around him, Mann felt justified in assuming the existence of shared values among his fellow citizens. The "others"–immigrants, unlettered farmers, laborers–were potentially vengeful and anarchic; but they were the voiceless ones whose opinions (if they had any) scarcely counted. If their values differed significantly from those of the settled and respectable people in the community, they could be attributed to ignorance or a kind of madness. Once properly "Americanized," those who presumably lived by such values (if that was what they were) would automatically disown them. When Mann and his fellow-reformers thought of the grass roots or the public, therefore, they thought of groups of people like themselves–individuals who saw righteousness as "voluntary compliance" with the Right,[4] who esteemed self-control, delayed gratification, seriousness, hard work, and the pursuit of status or success.

It is important to hold this in mind as we consider the values operating in contemporary society. Values may be understood to be conceptions of the desirable, of that conceived to be *worthy* of desire or preference, not simply that which fulfills desire or satisfies need. For the founders of the common school, values were "given," knowable to all with the capacity to apprehend. Man's absolute right to an education, in fact, was (according to Horace Mann) proven by "a principle of divine origin, clearly legible in the ways of Providence as those ways are manifested in the order of nature and in the history of the race. . . ."[5] Moral values too, those associated with righteousness, were enacted by natural law; and there was a divine or natural sanction for each objective sought in the common school. In spite of the changes in the world, the advance of scientific inquiry, the growing recognition that all viewpoints are relative and contingent, the presumption that some values are given still underlies much of what is done in teacher education today. Perspective is required; and we may be in a better position to gain perspective if we perceive our present predicaments with some sense of the nineteenth century background. The rationale of the common school has been so much a function of a public tradition defined in the nineteenth century that it has become difficult to make sense of it—or of the teacher education institutions which serve it—in a period of shattered traditions and fragmented norms. Yet this is precisely the assumption with which the present discussion begins. As I see it, Horace Mann's hope was largely futile; his well-meant promise could not be kept. There *is* no public philosophy toward which to turn; there *is* no community conscience; there is not even a common school.

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[5] "Tenth Annual Report as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education," in: Mann, Mary. *Life and Works of Horace Mann.* Boston: Horace B. Fuller, 1968. Vol. III, p. 533.

We need only contrast Mann's sonorous rhetoric to the discordant clamor we hear today. There are the voices of frustrated or outraged or automatized teachers in the classrooms, in the teachers' rooms, on picket lines. There are the voices of parents, some demanding and ambitious for their children, some bitterly aware of estrangement, hopelessness, exclusion. There are the voices of academicians scorning the professionals, of legislators and citizens' groups, administrators, policy makers, teacher educators themselves. And there are the increasingly vehement, increasingly desperate voices of rebellious young people, charging irrelevance, exploitation, various kinds of unfairness and bad faith.

These are the sounds of a culture in crisis at a moment when crisis relates directly to the schools. The reasons are obvious by now. Since the sputnik panic of 1957, the centrality of education in the national scene has been recognized as it never was before. No longer taken for granted as effective enough agents of socialization and purveyors of the fundamental skills, the schools have gradually become questionable in the eyes of different interest groups. On numerous occasions they have been scapegoated, blamed for society's insufficiencies. Long-standing grievances have been projected into the schools; generalized fears have been focused on them. Sometimes they have been seen as the breeding ground for a host of impossible dreams.

You recall how the searchlights abruptly turned upon the public schools when the appearance of the Soviet satellite suggested that the U.S.S.R. might be outstripping us in the technological race. Not only was our confidence in our superiority and our "special mission" undermined; we were convinced that our national security was at stake. There was a spate of irate talk about the ineffectuality of the schools when it came to the teaching of mathematics and the sciences. The right-wing opponents of what was called "progressivism," the neo-humanist critics of "anti-intellectualism," the sensationalist debunkers of the "education carnival" all joined in a mighty effort to scapegoat the public schools.[6] For the first time, scholars in the academic disciplines evidenced interest in the teaching and learning of their subject matters, and the "curriculum reform" movement, widely heralded on all sides, was launched.[7] Excellence became the watchword, particularly in the middle class schools; the nation engaged in a well-publicized talent hunt (eventually satirized by Hersey).[8] The word *common*, once so proudly linked to the idea of school, now became one with *mediocrity*. Teacher educators, self-consciously responding, began taking far more rigorous approaches to the training of teachers as studies of the "structure of knowledge" proliferated, as Jean Piaget's work became known, as the relevance of the academic disciplines was dramatized. For a moment there seemd to be a return to the Jeffersonian ideal of a "natural aristocracy" and the Jeffersonian separation of the "laboring" from the "learned."[9] Arguing in 1962 for something resembling Jefferson's selective approach to education, Conant wrote:

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[6] See, for example: Bestor, Arthur, *Educational Wastelands*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953; Barzun, Jacques, *The House of Intellect*, New York: Harper Brothers, 1959; Hutchins, Robert M., *Education for Freedom*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943; Hullfish, H. Gordon, editor, *Educational Freedom in an Age of Anxiety*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953; and Scott, C. Winfield, Hill, Clyde M., and Burns, Hobert W., editors, *The Great Debate: Our Schools in Crisis*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall (Spectrum Books), 1959.

> In pushing my arguments for more funds for scholarships in the bleak years of the depression I often invoked the memory of Jefferson and quoted those famous phrases with which he justified his selective scheme for the education of the poor boy. Over the past twenty-five years, I must admit I have frequently encountered something less than enthusiasm for my plea for a renewal of Jefferson's concern with "raking the geniuses from the rubbish." (I was never so tactless as to quote those particular words, of course.)[10]

Putting it in such a fashion, Conant communicated a sense of one of the oldest value conflicts in the culture. In an earlier time, it might be thought of as the conflict between the republican and the democratic principles, between Jeffersonianism and Jacksonianism. John Gardner articulated it in the subtitle to his book entitled *Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too?*[11]

The issue had not been squarely confronted by the education profession during the years in which the challenge of educating the masses of children was being met by a stress on life adjustment.[12] "In the name of utility, democracy, and science," writes Hofstadter, "many educators had come to embrace the supposedly uneducable or less educable child as the center of the secondary-school universe, relegating the talented child to the sidelines."[13] The selective principle advocated by Conant and others was associated with the aristocratic tradition long dominant in Western Europe; and American educators, uniquely concerned with "*all* American youth," had indeed tended to place utility, "popularization,"[14] and a kind of democratic "value education" higher on their priority scale than mental discipline or subject matter mastery. This ought to be seen, however, as something much more than an educationist deviation or a sign of simplemindedness or innocence. Richard Hofstadter has made clear that the antiauthoritarian, antiformalist preoccupations of American educators must be understood within a wider context of what he calls anti-intellectualism.[15] It is to some degree unfair to consider the philistinism and bigotries of right-wingers in this country under the same rubric as evangelism, romanticism, and populism; but if we are to understand the value commitments contesting with each other at the present moment, we will have to acknowledge a certain long-standing ambivalence with respect to the life of the intellect. What Paul Goodman calls "The New Reformation"[16] among American youth and the current suspicion of those Chomsky calls the new mandarins[17] both express value commitments marked by that ambivalence; and as we map the landscape of contemporary values, we will have to give this a prominent place.

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[7] Bruner, Jerome S. *The Process of Education.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.

[8] Hersey, John. *The Child-Buyer.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960.

[9] Thomas Jefferson, letter to Peter Carr, September 7, 1814, in: Padover, Saul K. *A Jefferson Profile.* New York: John Day Co., 1943. pp. 237-43.

[10] Conant, James B. *Thomas Jefferson and the Development of American Public Education.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962. p. 54.

[11] New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961.

[12] Hofstadter, Richard. "The Road to Adjustment." *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. See footnote No. 3, p. 343, to *Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth*, published by the U.S. Office of Education.

It is certainly the case, however, that the sputnik and postsputnik period was one in which educators, like the public generally, were forced into confrontation with a burgeoning technology. There was a surge of discussion having to do with the "knowledge explosion"[18] and with the challenges posed by proliferating knowledge in all fields. The fearsome complexity of life in the urbanized, corporate society began to impress and appall many different kinds of people,[19] even as doubts began to be expressed about the beneficence of the sciences and the uses of what was thought to be the "scientific method." The old orthodoxies, defined in the midst of a long-dead agrarianism, began to sound hollow in many ears. At a moment when "togetherness" had become a watchword, "the lonely crowd"[20] a painfully familiar model, "the organization man"[21] a diminished culture hero, a value system centering on regard for the individual was bound to seem in various ways archaic. It was no wonder that John F. Kennedy, with his personal vibrancy and his ringing talk of engagement in a national mission, seemed to fill a moral vacuum for a time. Strangely, almost ironically, his pragmatic, altogether modern presidency aroused hopes and dreams as old as America itself. Indeed it was a "shining moment." The traditional image of a youthful, striding America was reawakened. For a thousand days, young people and older ones believed once more in possibility.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[14] *Ibid.*, quotation from Dr. Charles A. Prosser, p. 352. Also see: Cremin, Lawrence A. *The Genius of American Education.* New York: Vintage Books, 1966.

[15] Hofstadter, *op. cit.*

[16] *New York Times Magazine*, September 14, 1969. pp. 32-33, 142-54.

[17] Chomsky, Noam. *American Power and the New Mandarins.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

[18] Barzun, *op cit.* Also see: Kimball, Solon T., and McClellan, James E., Jr. *Education and the New America.* New York: Random House, 1962. Part I, "The Reality and the Promise," pp. 3-215.

[19] See, for example: Matson, Floyd W., *The Broken Image*, New York: George Braziller, 1964; Marcuse, Herbert, *One Dimensional Man*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1964; and Sykes, Gerald, *The Hidden Remnant*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962.

Those thousand days were marked by a number of climactic events whose consequences were to change the look of the country and, unquestionably, effect crucial transformations where values were concerned. With the publication of Harrington's *The Other America*[22] (and Dwight MacDonald's essay review in *The New Yorker* which called it to John F. Kennedy's attention), the so-called invisible poor began to present their unmet demands to the nation and to the schools. At about the same moment, the civil rights movement erupted in the South. Almost a decade had passed since the Supreme Court desegregation decision, and the harm done by discrimination had been made theoretically clear. But it took the freedom rides and the bus boycotts and the sit-ins and the brutality to convince the Administration and America's liberal white citizens that black people were tired of waiting for equality, that something far-reaching had to be done. In the public sphere, as you well remember, there were proposals for legislation, most of it passed during the Johnson Administration. The Civil Rights Act, a War on Poverty, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act–these and more highlighted those years. Perhaps as significant, however, were the effects on the moral lives of individuals, particularly young individuals brought up in relative affluence, with the stale taste of suburbia in their mouths.

Martin Luther King's doctrine of nonviolence and civil disobedience had long roots in one of the American traditions, that represented by Henry David Thoreau and the Abolitionists of his time. Dr. King's personal appeal was considerable; his heroism and self-sacrifice were awe-inspiring. The idea of "redemptive suffering" and the reliance on an intuitively apprehended moral law might have been more difficult for secular young people to accept were it not for the evocations of Thoreau marching to his own drumbeat, doing (as they were later to point out) his own thing. In any event, those who played an active role in the Mississippi Freedom Summer and those who participated in sit-ins or other modes of nonviolent confrontation internalized many of the values associated with civil disobedience. This was to become extremely important later on, when white students were no longer accepted by a civil rights movement increasingly oriented to separatism and black power, when the poverty projects launched in the Northern cities failed, and when the Vietnamese War was suddenly escalated after the so-called incident at Tonkin Bay. Intentional violations of the law became common in protests against the war and the military establishment. Conscientious resistance to the draft was and is widespread. Defying the law and secular authorities, young people pursue values sanctioned sometimes by "moral law," sometimes by inclination, sometimes by some potent inner voice associated with conscience.

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[20] Riesman, David; Glazer, Nathan; and Denney, Reuel. *The Lonely Crowd*. New York: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Books), 1953.

[21] Whyte, William H. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956.

[22] Harrington, Michael. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1962.

Black people in the South tried to maintain the civil rights movement, even in the face of incredible violence, on nonviolent grounds. Others, particularly in the North, opted for more militant values, sometimes paramilitary ones. "Burn, baby, burn!" was the slogan during the Watts disorders. The Black Panthers carried guns in self-defense (and, at once, served breakfasts to the children of the slums). Malcolm X was killed; Dr. King was killed; many Panthers met their deaths at policemen's hands. The revolutionary rhetoric of Eldridge Cleaver and Stokely Carmichael drowned out the cultivated gospel sound of the Reverends King and Abernathy. Even in the cities, where parents battled for community control of the schools, angry and violent rhetoric obscured what was actually a traditional desire for an equal chance, an opportunity for children to get ahead.

Where educators were concerned, the emergence of the invisible poor and the outraged black man challenged the long-defended claim that the common school had served all American youth and, by treating people equally, had provided individuals with equality of opportunity. Since equality had long been one of the American people's most prized "conceived"[23] values, the need to perceive it as something more than "sameness"[24] was to make a difference to many thoughtful persons' moral outlooks. It made a difference too, not yet fully realized, in conceptualizations of the common school. We need only trace the shifts in point of view from Conant's *Slums and Suburbs*,[24] one of the first studies of educational inequities, to Frank Riessman's *The Culturally Deprived Child*[25] and countless subsequent works which emphasized the distinctiveness of the children of minority groups and at once demanded equitable opportunities to enter the mainstream.[26] Conant, you will recall, proposed that slum schools offer appropriate vocational education to the children of the poor. Studies published after his presented ways of providing the same "general education" offered in the suburban schools.[27] With this in mind, men like Deutsch[28] began focusing on what they called early "environmental attrition" and the necessity for compensating for deprivation in the preschool years. The end in view was the accomplishment of cognitive learning for children who, not long before, would have been expected simply to adjust.

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[23] Lieberman, Myron. "Equality of Educational Opportunity." *Language and Concepts in Education.* (Edited by B. Othanel Smith and Robert H. Ennis.) Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1961.

[24] Conant, James B. *Slums and Suburbs: A Commentary on Schools in Metropolitan Areas.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961.

[25] New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962.

The painfully abrupt appearance of poor people on the cultural scene brought, in addition, another crucial value to the fore. Ralph Ellison had first used the term *invisible* in the richest possible metaphoric sense in his novel *Invisible Man* ("I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. . . . That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their *inner* eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality.").[29] James Baldwin[30] and Martin Luther King[31] talked of "nobodyness." Michael Harrington borrowed the term *invisible* when he wrote about the very poor. All had in mind the disappearance of an existing person in a category. Abstrations, labels, groupings of all sorts had been used (sometimes with the most benevolent motives) to bury individuals in what the existentialist calls the crowd.[32] The abstraction *man*, like the abstraction *Negro*, cannot encompass the concrete, living reality of the person as he experiences himself. Moreover, the dependence upon such abstractions inevitably affects the way we look through our "physical eyes upon reality."

The Port Huron statement, which heralded the founding of a radical youth movement, challenged the manipulation which resulted in apathy and the sense of personal powerlessness. "The goal of man and society," wrote the young revolutionaries, "should be human independence: a concern not with image or popularity but with finding a meaning in life that is personally authentic. . . ."[33] During the outbreaks on the Berkeley campus in 1964, students wore buttons proclaiming, "I am a human being." Jack Weinberg, one of the radical leaders, told a hostile student, "We feel that we, as human beings first and students second, must take our stand on every vital issue which faces this nation, and in particular the vital issue of discrimination, of segregation, of poverty, of unemployment; the vital issue of people who aren't getting the decent breaks that they as individuals deserve. . . ."[34]

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[26] See, for example: Halsey, A. H., Floud, Jean, and Anderson, Arnold C., editors, *Education, Economy, and Society*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961; Goldstein, Bernard, and others, *Low Income Youth in Urban Areas*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1967; Kerber, August, and Bommarito, Barbara, editors, *The Schools and the Urban Crisis*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1963; and Powledge, Fred, *To Change a Child*, Chicago: Quandrangle Books, 1967.

[27] See: Broudy, Harry S.; Smith, B. Othanel; and Burnett, Joe R. *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964.

[28] Deutsch, Martin P. "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process." *Education in Depressed Areas.* (Edited by A. Harry Passow.) New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

[29] New York: New American Library, 1952.

[30] *Nobody Knows My Name.* New York: Dial Press, 1961.

[31] *Why We Can't Wait.* New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

[32] Kierkegaard, Soren. *The Present Age.* (Translated by Alexander Dru.) New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

At the same time, Friedenberg, Henry, Goodman, and others were developing their critiques of the public schools and dramatizing the effects of the school *qua* an "establishment" institution.[35] Whether the focus was on the "vanishing adolescent," on young people "growing up absurd," on expressive black children forced into a restrictive mainstream culture, or on high school students plagued by a vague "resentment," the values given prominence were those centered on the need for autonomy, authenticity, visibility. As more and more critics entered the arena–Holt, Kohl, Kozol, and the like[36]–the language they chose to use was much like that of the Port Huron statement or, on occasion, the language of love and simplicity characteristic of hippies and the flower children of the time. In their own fashion they were giving voice to a restiveness experienced by many people gradually becoming aware of de-personalization, manipulation, and what Richard Goodwin was to call the public unhappiness[37] or as Tom Wicker put it, the vague "Malaise Beyond Dissent."[38]

Much of this came to a head in 1968, a grimly memorable year which might well serve as the dividing line between the recent past and the present moment where the value picture is concerned. Both Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were assassinated that year; the hopes implicit in the McCarthy campaign were killed; the events at the Chicago convention aroused a degree of anger, fear, and desperation seldom seen in America before. The problem of violence, the issue of "law and order," separatism, alienation, polarization–all these came drearily to the fore.

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[33] See: Cohen, Mitchell, and Hale, Dennis, editors. *The New Student Left.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1967. p. 12.

[34] Draper, Hal. *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt.* New York: Grove Press, 1965. p. 41. Also see: Keniston, Kenneth. *Young Radicals.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. pp. 289-90.

[35] Friedenberg, Edgar Z., *Coming of Age in America*, New York: Random House, 1965; Henry, Jules, *Culture Against Man*, New York: Random House, 1963; and Goodman, Paul, *Compulsory Mis-Education*, New York: Horizon Press, 1964.

[36] Holt, John C., *How Children Fail, How Children Learn*, and *The Underachieving School*, New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1964, 1967, and 1969; Kohl, Herbert R., *36 Children*, New York: New American Library, 1967; and Kozol, Jonathan, *Death at an Early Age*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.

[37] Sources of the Public Unhappiness." *New Yorker* 44:38-42+; January 4, 1969.

[38] *New York Times*, March 12, 1967. p. E3.

And today? For all the astringent talk in certain official circles, it seems to me that the only way to begin talking about "values in society" today is to point to the disintegration of our society's fundamental norms. We are living in what has been described as a period of strain. The sociologist Talcott Parsons describes multiple evidences of this throughout our society. By "strain" he means the discrepancy between the way individual persons desire things to be and the way they actually are.[39] Also, he describes the way in which our cultural system, which legitimizes our society's normative order, is becoming more and more differentiated and the way in which our unifying references are being lost. There is, for instance, no unifying religious faith any longer; most of the traditional symbols which held us together have decayed. For a time, the sciences seemed to be filling the gap left by the disappearance of a unifying religious orientation; but this no longer seems to be the case. The arts, most especially the popular arts, also serve to fill the gap with what Parsons describes as their "special relations to the autonomy of personality."[40] But consider the confusion and diversity in the realm of the arts. There was the Woodstock Festival; there is the Johnny Carson show; there are Saul Bellow's novels and Kurt Vonnegut's; there is John Cage's music; there is the new pornography. Surely the arts, if they do fill the gap, do not provide unifying references for society as a whole. Certain forms create and become the focus of an "adversary culture";[41] others reinforce traditional culture. The arts, I think, testify to differentiation; they have become at once functions of and responses to the disintegration of our norms.

Kimball and McClellan, commenting upon the "order, system, and capacity" of our culture, are also struck by its differentiation. "The stale flatness of our ancient verities," they write, "is not relieved by having them pronounced ever more ceremoniously from Pennsylvania and Madison Avenues." The orderliness of our highway system cannot "substitute for an elaborate system of moral concepts that should both describe and extend the moral system in our society."[42] They describe individuals uncertain of their roles, deprived of fulfillments, seeking their private commitments; and then they speak of the "heterogeneity, the pluralism, the absence of national purposes" which can be but often are not "sources of great personal freedom and satisfaction."[43] They see ruptures between people, estrangements, loneliness (and desperate attempts to escape loneliness) wherever they look. What is most crucial, they see no evidence of a stable social order, nor do they find "commitment" in any but the most private sense.

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[39] *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1966.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[41] Trilling, Lionel. "The Two Environments: Reflections on the Study of English." *Beyond Culture.* New York: Viking Press, 1965.

[42] Kimball and McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

With all this in mind, I find it strange to hear Philip G. Smith,[44] my much respected colleague in the philosophy of education, talking about the central purpose of American education being "dictated by the democratic commitment of our society." Apparently convinced that there *is* an agreed-upon central purpose, he says: "The problem of translating this central purpose into objectives for teaching-learning (at the level of skills, habits, understandings, attitudes, and appreciations) calls for a sustained program of complex conceptual analysis and empirical research."[45] The problem confronting teacher education, as he views it, is simply to get our democratic commitment into operational terms. There has been, he writes, enough public debate and "squabble." We must "get on with society's business, for example, as the medical profession does."[46] I am afraid that Professor Smith's view is rather widely shared among teacher educators who would rather turn their attention to the development of expertise than to the unsettled situation where values are concerned.

Fred Hechinger, writing in the *New York Times*, begins his survey of education in the 1970's this way: "American education today is like a parent who, though unsure of the validity of his own values, knows that he is expected to transmit them to his children. If the schools and colleges, torn by doubts about society's needs and goals, cannot do the job on the basis of any current consensus, who else has the authority and credibility? Who can determine what is relevant–what obsolete?"[47] Can a focus on expertise answer questions like these? *Newsweek* magazine, featuring an article entitled "What's Wrong with the High Schools?" quotes Secretary Robert H. Finch's recent reminder to the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) that the schools are breaking down, that their symptoms are "violence, drugs, dropouts . . . the passive acquiescence of boredom . . . incredibly mobile but profoundly unhappy students."[48] In New York, the increasing use of drugs in the high schools is blamed upon increasing alienation. Can we really put an end to, in Smith's words, public debate and "squabble" and turn our attention to "translating this central purpose into objectives for teaching-learning"?

To my mind, the term *democratic commitment* has become an empty abstraction, almost drained of meaning in the world of contesting values in which we live. I find it peculiarly difficult to take refuge in such abstractions today. Vice-President Agnew's speeches ring in my ears: the attack on "effete and impudent snobs"; the declaration that the government can afford to separate dissidents "from our society–with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel"; the condemnation of the "instant analysis and querulous criticism" offered by television commentators after President Nixon's address on November 3, 1969. The "silent majority" construct troubles me deeply, as do the conspiracy trials, the massacre in Vietnam, the seemingly endless war, the talk of "law and order" at the Justice Department.[49] The final report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence is relevant to any consideration such as this. We need, that Commission said, to reorder our national priorities: "While serious external dangers remain, the graver threats today are internal." Poverty, discrimination, and overcrowding are the threats, according to the Commission, and the "high level of violence" resulting "is dangerous to our society." The report continued:

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[44] "Objectives for American Education." *Educational Planning in the United States.* (Edited by Stanley Elam and Gordon I. Swanson.) Ithaca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1969. pp. 3, 15.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[46] "Discussion of Mr. Smith's Paper." *Educational Planning in the United States, op. cit.*, p. 19.

[47] "The 1970's: Education for What?" *New York Times Annual Education Review*, January 12, 1970.

[48] *Newsweek* 75:65; February 16, 1970.

> It is disfiguring our society–making fortresses of portions of our cities and dividing our people into armed camps. It is jeopardizing some of our most precious institutions, among them our schools and universities–poisoning the spirit of trust and cooperation that is essential to their proper functioning. It is corroding the central political processes of our democratic society–substituting force and fear for argument and accommodation.[50]

If it is actually the case (and it appears to be) that trust and cooperation are being eroded, the effects on individual and social life will be serious. Not only is a degree of cooperation required for a viable community to exist; the individual must experience trust if he is to develop meaningful values and create a true identity. Erik H. Erikson calls "a sense of basic trust" the fundamental prerequisite of mental vitality. "By 'trust'," he writes, "I mean an essential trustfulness of others as well as a fundamental sense of one's own trustworthiness." In later life, he says, trust becomes the capacity for faith, traditionally religious faith. If, as in our own time, religion loses its potency, "an age must find other forms of joint reverence for life which derive vitality from a shared world image."[51] Some sort of coherence is required, some order in which persons can believe. And this, I am afraid, is what we lack in this country, particularly in this day of polarization. It may be that one of our primary obligations in the world of education is to reconstitute a "shared world image," to reinvent the "sense of basic trust."

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[49] See: Harris, Richard. *Justice: The Crisis of Law, Order, and Freedom in America.* New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1970.

[50] *New York Times*, December 13, 1969. p. 22.

[51] *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968. p. 96.

As serious is the Commission's claim that violence is "substituting force and fear for argument and accommodation." Fundamental to the democratic credo, most of us will agree, is a belief in intelligence and in the uses of intelligent persuasion. Associated with this is a commitment to fairness and to respect for the other, no matter what he stands for or who he is. Riots, clubbings, the use of gas, personal assaults, obscene insults–all these are the opposite of persuasion; and these are what we have seen with increasing frequency over the last few years. Similarly coercive, similarly at odds with "argument and accommodation," it seems to me, are misused contempt citations, threats of preventive detention, attacks on dissenters as "incendiaries," bland promises of "troop withdrawals" and an end to war. Here, too, we in education have a peculiar responsibility. We may have to reinvent critical thought, tentativeness–the experimental attitude. We may have to rediscover rationality itself.

To be meaningful, democratic principles–including regard for persons, fairness, freedom, and trustfulness–must be incarnated in human action. Individuals must not merely be expected to mouth them; they must be given opportunities freely to appropriate them. They must learn how to make decisions with such principles in mind. I do not believe that we in teacher education can take for granted this kind of appropriation, this mode of "norm-regarding action."[52] Nor can we take for granted the understanding that a democratic commitment is, in the last analysis, a commitment to individual fulfillment. Security, prosperity, stability, like social institutions generally, are (according to such a commitment) justified by the degree to which they serve the person and his quest for satisfaction, realization, and meaning. They are justified by the degree to which they help him effect controls over experience in his own life-world. The internal threats described by the Commission are due largely to feelings of frustration and desperation, aroused by the inability of our society to satisfy the needs of hundreds upon hundreds of persons. They are aroused by our inability to give people the sense of significance and purpose for which they yearn–by our inability to realize the commitment by which we presumably live.

It is relevant to take note, at this point, of the patterns of dissent and protest becoming apparent today. We need only glance at the storm of rebellion gathering in the high schools and at the newspapers being put out by the rebels.[53] We need only have watched the course of the conspiracy trial in Chicago or the Panther trials in New Haven and New York. We need only recall the behavior of the Weatherman contingent of SDS, the escalation of bombing incidents, the destruction of draft board records in cities all over the country, the unexpected assertiveness of the Women's Liberation Movement. Granted, the majority–silent or vociferous–are not engaged in such activity. But those who are cannot be underestimated. They are the same people who would have taken freedom rides less than a decade ago and sat in at lunch counters and gone to Mississippi for Freedom Summer. They are the same people who would have cut their hair and gone "clean for Gene" just two years ago; they are the ones who would have been peaceably marching and singing freedom songs not too many months ago. We were willing, in 1962 and 1963, to see the civil rights struggle as in some sense exemplary; we were willing, even later, to see the campus protests as expressive of something significant in the moral life of our society. We can do no less in the present moment. What is happening in the streets and courtrooms and government buildings is evidence of a rising level of frustration and despair. It is evidence, too, of an ebbing commitment on the part of some of our brightest, most committed young people to what we have called democracy.

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[52] Green, Thomas F. "Teaching, Acting, and Behaving." *Philosophy and Education.* Second edition. (Edited by Israel Scheffler.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1966. p. 130.

[53] See: Divoky, Diane, editor. *How Old Will You Be in 1984? Expressions of Student Outrage from the High School Free Press.* New York: Avon Books, 1969.

Is it reasonable, then, to talk as Professor Smith does of getting on "with society's business"? I am reminded by those words of F. Scott Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby and his youthful image of himself: "He was a son of God–a phrase which, if it means anything, means just that–and he must be about his Father's business, the service of a vast, vulgar, and meretricious beauty."[54] Can we in education simply take it for granted that society's business is worth attending to because we call ourselves "democratic"? Ought we not to confront, as Gatsby should have done, the presence of a "foul dust" in the air?

An individual among us, here and there, may grumble about the "silent majority"; but few people ask themselves what the schools have contributed to such "silence" or (and this is even more important) what can be done in the schools to make possible informed, articulate consent and dissent. Shock is expressed at the news of the My Lai massacre; but no one seriously contemplates the fact that, two or three years ago, most of the young men involved were attending public schools. The responsibility for ghetto school deficiencies has only recently been acknowledged by the professionals, as has the responsibility for the use of slanted textbooks and the distortion of American history where black people are concerned. It is only within the last few months that we have begun taking seriously such charges as Charles V. Hamilton's:[55] that the educational system is perceived as illegitimate by the black community. Its legitimacy is rejected on the grounds that it is too often unable–or unwilling–to provide what the school's constituency needs and wants. According to Professor Hamilton, black people are withdrawing their allegiance because, in their eyes, the existing system has become dysfunctional. You may find this charge to be unwarranted or extreme; but the fact that it has been made by someone as responsible as Professor Hamilton ought to give us all pause. Is it not likely that some of the unrest, some of the physical violence in urban public schools are functions of a sense of illegitimacy? This may be another aspect of the loss of trust noted above. Clearly, it is part of the "foul dust" in the air surrounding the schools.

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[54] *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. p. 99.

[55] "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy." *Harvard Educational Review*, 38:669-84; Fall 1968.

For all the urgency of these impinging problems, education faculties have been less inclined than others to take public stands. Education students tend to be less activist than students in other areas; professional schools have been relatively unaffected by student unrest. I am quite aware that the education profession, like medicine and law, signifies a social role "whose content and significance are defined by norms operative in the society"[56] rather than by a conception of truth-seeking or unique expertise. It is probably true that, in some sense, teachers are not so free to commit themselves as other professionals are; but I am not sure it follows that the value system predominating in teacher education must today be defined solely by norms presumed to be operative, or–more precisely–by some fictional democratic commitment in which educators pretend to believe. By "pretend" I mean that they confuse certain conventional ways of speaking or conventional ways of ordering experience with some verifiable "reality." Fictions and conventions are necessary, I grant. They are modes of sense-making, of imposing form.[57] But they should not be permitted to become absolute; nor should they ever be granted more than conditional assent. To deny the disintegration of norms, to deny what Henry David Aiken calls "The New Morals,"[58] to deny the erosion of commitment in society is in some manner to choose not to choose. And yet teacher educators are expected to be deeply concerned with enabling others to choose, to make decisions of principle, to identify and create themselves.

Thinking of denials and refusals, I am reminded of Professor Aiken's comment: "If an unreflective life is not worth living, an unreflective morality, whatever its sanctions or authority, is not worth having. Indeed, it is not a morality at all but a form of politics and ideology. And ideologies, indispensable as they are to an even tolerable social existence, must always be made to play second fiddle."[59] Thinking of an unreflective life, I am reminded of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Marlow, in that book, tells a group of retired seamen a long story of his journey into the wilderness, his confrontation with darkness and the "hidden truth." He is aware that his listeners, having never penetrated below the surfaces, cannot understand:

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[56] Wolff, Robert Paul. *The Ideal of the University*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. p. 21.

[57] See: Kermode, Frank. *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

[58] *Harper's Magazine* 236:58-72; February 1968.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

> You can't understand. How could you?–with solid pavement under your feet, surrounded by kind neighbors ready to cheer you or to fall on you, stepping delicately between the butcher and the policeman, in the holy terror of scandal and gallows and lunatic asylums–how can you imagine what particular region of the first ages a man's untrammeled feet may take him into by the way of solitude–utter solitude without a policeman–by the way of silence–utter silence, where no warning voice of a kind neighbor can be heard whispering of public opinion? These little things make all the great difference. When they are gone you must fall back upon your own innate strength, upon your own capacity for faithfulness. Of course you may be too much of a fool to go wrong–too dull even to know you are being assaulted by the powers of darkness. . . . Or you may be such a thunderingly exalted creature as to be altogether deaf to anything but heavenly sights and sounds. Then the earth for you is only a standing place–and whether to be like this is your loss or your gain I won't pretend to say.[60]

I may be wrong, but I have the impression that too many of my fellow educators are–no, not fools–but in Conrad's sense either "dull" or "thunderingly exalted." By that I mean they lack the courage or the desire to confront confusion and ambiguity. They lack faith in their own potential "power of devotion," not to themselves but, as Conrad says, "to an obscure, backbreaking business." Earlier in his story, Marlow offers an explanation for this when he is telling his companions how some people are fascinated by the incomprehensible while others are not. "Mind," he says, "none of us would feel exactly like this. What saves us is efficiency–the devotion to efficiency." It may well be that a similar devotion (that which Callahan once called the cult of efficiency[61]) defends many educators and teacher educators as well against involvement and outrage. It may be the business image, or what some call the factory metaphor, which keeps their attention turned toward efficiency of production and away from "foul dust" and mysteries.

Robert Paul Wolff, characterizing Clark Kerr's talk of the multiversity as a response "to social needs or as satisfying demands made upon it by society," develops a critique which seems relevant here. He says that in such an argument no adequate distinction is drawn between the concepts of "effective or market demand" and "human or social need." A need is a lack, an absence of something which. if present, would contribute to "the full and unalienated development of human power. . . ."[62] Market demand means that, in a market economy, there exist a number of buyers prepared to purchase a commodity; but there is never a guarantee that the most potent human desires and needs felt at any given moment are being expressed as market demands.

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[60] Conrad, Joseph. *Three Great Tales.* New York: Modern Library Paperback, Random House, n.d. pp. 272-73.

[61] See: Callahan, Raymond E. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

[62] Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

Yet market demands, it appears to many of us, are crucial when it comes to public education. Green has recently made the point that the values of managerial education are among the predominant values still shaping the functions of the public school.[63] Managerial education is precisely that kind which is intended to satisfy market demand. It involves evaluations governed mainly by a notion of utility. The schools, in other words, are thought of as producing distinctive products–the workers, technologists, administrators, soldiers, et al., "needed" by society. They are judged, therefore, by their efficiency in satisfying effective demands, not by their effectiveness in satisfying the deepest human needs. It may be that, as Professor Green indicates, ghetto residents and some of those who challenge the schools' legitimacy espouse this point of view. With notable exceptions, many of them are objecting to the inefficiency of the ghetto school in preparing members of minority groups for making it in the present-day market economy. But the separatists and the revolutionaries are challenging the fundamental nature of that economy; and there is an important tension between the militants and those who support open enrollment and other such devices with a conservative goal in mind; entry into the mainstream of what already exists. The voices calling for more efficiency in the city slums, therefore, are often lost in the outraged roar of militancy. Again, we are faced with a confusion of values; we must somehow learn to listen more attentively than we ever have before.

The market orientation, nevertheless, does much to explain why there is so much deafness in our profession and why protests are so infrequently heard. If one is in the business of marketing a commodity and satisfying those who can afford to buy, one is not likely to criticize one's customers' values or to challenge the way they live their lives. But is this orientation appropriate in teachers colleges today or in schools and departments of education? Is it the kind of orientation which stimulates confrontation of concrete educational problems in the tumultuous modern world, where it can so truly be said that "the center does not hold" and that "anarchy is loosed. . . ."?[64] Is it the kind of orientation which permits the teacher-to-be to define a role for himself among a great range of possible roles? Is it the kind that permits him to identify himself as a thoughtful practitioner, equipped to teach diverse and particular children in diverse and particular schools?

It seems to me that, at various points in his professional training, a teacher-to-be ought to be given the opportunity to ask himself whether he chooses to be an agent of the technological society, obligated to pursue those behavioral objectives "society's business" appears to demand, or whether he chooses to be an initiator, a crusader against mediocrity, indifference, inequity, silence. There have been multiple indications, as I have pointed out, of dissatisfaction with the corporate structures, of discontent with the way things are. There have been indications, too, that young people – much like Huck Finn and Holden Caulfield – are becoming desperately impatient with hypocrisy and phoniness and games. Yet we in teacher education so seldom enable our own students to confront the strain Talcott Parsons describes, to articulate their sense of the discrepancy between what is said to be desirable and what is actually acted upon in the world. It is important for teachers-to-be to realize that "educators are likely to explain their actions to one another in the terms of humanistic education and to act on values of managerial education. . . ."[65] Humanistic education means the kind of education primarily concerned with the growth of persons and the autonomy of individuals, each one encouraged to discover meanings, to create his own identity in the situations of his life. But even this approach is talked about abstractly, blandly, as though the talkers knew somehow that they were playing a kind of game. So what they say about growth and what they say about discovery and pluralism and "democratic education" too often echoes hollowly when the teacher takes his place in the field. More than likely he has never had an opportunity to come to terms with discrepancy and conflict. He has had few opportunities to chart his own life-world in the midst of turmoil or to deliberate on how to choose for himself.

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[63] Green, Thomas F. "Schools and Communities: A Look Forward." *Harvard Educational Review* 39:221-52; Spring 1969.

[64] Yeats, William Butler. "The Second Coming." *Collected Poems of William Butler Yeats.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1959.

There was a symposium at the University of Bristol in England not long ago, and a question was raised there that is infrequently raised among American teacher educators. What, asked W.A. Campbell Stewart, is the role of the teacher in the advanced society? The advanced society, as he saw it, "is one in which powerlessness, anomie, relaxation, and ignorant acceptance are likely. Sectionalized responsibility and social myopia are to be expected. An advanced society is so difficult to grasp that a constant and exhausting effort to understand is required and difficult to sustain. Here is the crux for the teacher."[66] To put it this way is to make as clear as anyone could the disintegration of norms in our time. It is to move a distance away from the abstractness and generality of "democratic commitment" from the simplism of "market demand." It is to suggest that the traditional role of the teacher no longer exists; and we need only refer back to Horace Mann's description of that role to realize why.

Not only does society become increasingly more difficult to diagnose and comprehend; the schools become more complex, more differentiated each day.

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[65] Green, "Schools and Communities," *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[66] "The Role of the Teacher in Advanced Societies." *Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers.* Proceedings of the Twentieth Symposium of the Colston Research Society. (Edited by William Taylor.) Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, Shoe String Press, 1969. p. 21.

The wrong teachers are so often placed with the wrong students, I think it entirely likely that differentiated staffing will become a common practice. If this occurs, it will be extremely important for the teacher-to-be to understand the specific role he is learning to play (as person, professional, specialist, generalist) and something about the range of roles there are to be played, since role reciprocity can seldom be taken for granted anymore.[67] Just as there has been a proliferation of value possibilities, so are there many more alternatives confronting the individual planning to teach in a school. These may multiply almost infinitely if more mini-schools, advancement schools, experimental schools, and competing school systems are established, as they well may be. It seems to me, therefore, that our emphasis should be placed on extending the awareness of alternatives, on self-determination, on the necessity to choose.

No single teacher can cope with the problems of "powerlessness, anomie, relaxation, and ignorant acceptance" in general or *in abstracto*. Each individual, attempting to conceive the advanced society and to take a stance with respect to some of its lacks, must decide on the action he can reasonably and authentically take; and it does not seem to me that he can make such a choice without a confrontation of the value dimension involved. Generalized prescriptions will no longer work in the identification of role identity; each teacher-to-be must choose not only a speciality but a specific commitment, a style. Some may choose the enabling, permissive roles long recommended for the middle class elementary school. Others may choose a commitment to a particular subject and opt for the kind of classroom situation in which verbal expressiveness and intellectual curiosity are the norms. Others, anticipating work with deprived children, will have to think through the tempering of permissiveness with deliberate interventions, with the kind of structuring required by those who have suffered sensory and linguistic lacks. Some will choose themselves as persons concerned with enabling others to learn how to learn. Some, concerned fundamentally with forming and creation, will choose to cope with anomie by stimulating self-expression in the arts.

In order to choose freely, authentically, however, teachers-to-be must be released into the world. They must be exposed, directly or vicariously, to the many modes of community living; they must come to know the many shapes an individual's living space can take. Here, it seems to me, is where teacher education can play an irreplaceable role. All depends on whether we can commit ourselves to recruiting a varied population of professionals and paraprofessionals to diversify the student bodies in our schools. All depends on whether we can arrange for a continual coming and going between our colleges and our communities, even if it means that we decentralize our institutions by opening store fronts and mini-schools. Teacher educators *and* teachers-to-be need to move into the open places and the closed places of the endlessly diversified field. We need to become familiar with our varied communities, deeply familiar, so that we, along with our students, can walk easily down the lanes and through the streets. Some of us might initiate new kinds of collaboration with some communities by overcoming our "expert" stance and moving directly into schools to do the things we normally do in our own institutional halls. Larry Cuban[68] suggests, for example, that we develop curriculum materials in the schools themselves, that we hold seminars there, that we work out specific programs with the teachers actually working in the schools.

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[67] Burnham, Peter S. "Commentary." *Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers, op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

Considering the tensions and inequities which will continue to exist, I can see (heretically, perhaps) a need for teacher educators to take stands on social issues, even to engage on occasion in political action—once again, for the sake of winning trust. Eugene Callender, for instance, says it is just as important to work for a species of black power in the ghetto as it is to stimulate the powers of black children, to move them to choose themselves.[69] One kind of effort may support the other. What, after all, are we stimulating children's capacities *for*? With similar exigencies in mind, I think we need to relate ourselves to teacher aides more closely, to street workers in the slums, to activists and community leaders, to the effective individuals who are in some manner akin to the children we want our students to work with in the schools. This is one of the ways of identifying the values working in a specific neighborhood; and we need to discover what these are if we are to find a place to begin.

It is probably time for us to recognize that neither we nor our students are respected as authorities. We need to come to terms with the decline of the traditional idea of authority and, in doing so, to enable our students to know that they may well be rejected, defied, even scorned. But even so, they must try to listen to the children they teach. They must try to define themselves in such a fashion that their listening, their *caring* become the kinds of action that will move their pupils to choose themselves anew. It is so much more important to reflect—in a mood of concern—about how to move particular children, how to present particular possibilities of learning, than it is to develop new curricula. It is so much more important to generate alternative ways of teaching, as Schwab puts it, and to "trace the branching pathways of consequences"[70] in particular situations than it is to speculate about behavioral objectives derived from conceptions of the structure of knowledge.

A concern of this kind (what Schwab calls a "commitment to deliberation") supports and indeed depends upon a concern for personally chosen and reflected-upon responsibility. I see no other way of coping with the problems posed by the advanced society, no other way of coping with the disintegration of cultural norms. I spoke earlier about reconstituting a "shared world image," of reinventing the "sense of basic trust." I do not believe that either can be legislated or imposed. They must, somehow or other, arise in specific, concrete situations in which individual teachers and individual students can choose themselves in freedom and act upon specific possibilities. It will not do to preach the democratic commitment. It will not do to urge people on "society's business." Our students are perceptive enough to see the structures breaking down around them, to hear the sounds of violence, to smell the smoke. And most have the courage to encounter crisis if we do not protect them from it, to "fall back"–as Conrad wrote–on their "own innate strength," their "own capacity for faithfulness." If we allow them to do so, they may well be able to rebel against the managerial and work for "the full and unalienated development of human power" rather than to meet market demand.

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[68] "Teacher and Community." *Harvard Educational Review* 39:253-72; Spring 1969.

[69] See: Barth, Roland S. "The University and Urban Education." *Phi Delta Kappan* 51:36-40; September 1969.

[70] Schwab, Joseph J. "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum." *School Review* 78:1-23; November 1969.

Values can no longer be conceived as "given"; there are no predetermined "great objects" towards which all young people should strive. There is only the hope of increased awareness on the part of persons; there is only the possibility of communicating principles which may be freely chosen by those who have learned how to learn. We can combat indifference and depersonalization by attending to persons for whom we care, by enabling them to feel free enough to imagine alternatives and choose among them thoughtfully. We can introduce them to multiple modes of ordering, to diverse ways of cherishing; but we can offer them no certainties, no "glorious destiny." Perhaps, in the end, it is as well.

Camus wrote something relevant to this. "The mind," he said, "has lost that regal certainty which a conqueror could acknowledge; it exhausts itself now in cursing force, for want of knowing how to master it." And then:

> The task is endless, it's true. But we are here to pursue it. I do not have enough faith in reason to subscribe to a belief in progress or to any philosophy of history. I do believe at least that man's awareness of his destiny has never ceased to advance. We have not overcome our condition, and yet we know it better. We know that we live in contradiction, but we also know that we must refuse this contradiction and do what is needed to reduce it. Our task as men is to find the few principles that will calm the infinite anguish of free souls. We must mend what has been torn apart, make justice imaginable again in a world so obviously unjust, give happiness a meaning once more to peoples poisoned by the misery of the century. Naturally, it is a superhuman task. But superhuman is the term for tasks men take a long time to accomplish, that's all.[71]

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[71] Camus, Albert. "The Almond Trees." *Lyrical and Critical Essays.* (Translated by Ellen Conroy Kennedy.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968. p. 135.

This is as appropriate a response as any I can think of to the value crisis and confusion of our time. It is as appropriate a response as any I can think of to the loss of a "public philosophy" and the certainties that illicitly justified the common school. "Let us know our aims, then, holding fast to the mind," Camus went on. And finally, most meaningfully of all, "The first thing is not to despair."

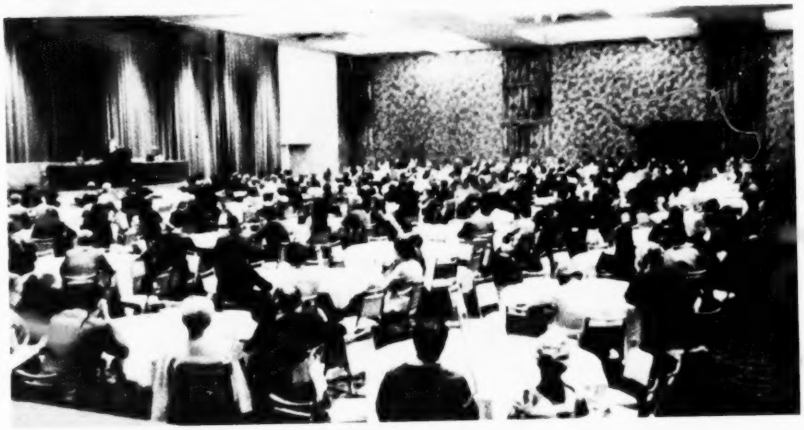
THE PROFESSIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

Eddie Ort

Attention is now shifted to an analysis of conditions in the *professional* context that have particular relevance to the education of teachers: student power, staff differentiation, teachers for the ghetto, negotiations.

These are factors demanding careful attention. Quite obviously the four do not represent an exhaustive listing of topics that merit consideration in examining the professional context. Additional areas of genuine significance, ideas and issues that sorely need the wisdom that can be generated by insightful analyses, are many. These four, nevertheless, seem especially relevant. Although they are not necessarily newcomers to us as problem and issue areas, *they are most certainly timely*. In one form or another they occupy places of prominence in the news and events of today. Success in solving the problems related to these four topics may have a strong impact on the nature and strength of teacher education in the coming years.



Student Power and the Education of Teachers

Charles Gonzales

Life in the United States is far out of balance today. The profit-seekers have managed to compete with one another to the detriment and corruption of the individual man. The citizen today has been seduced by the corporation. He enjoys the benefits of TV, rapid transit, expensive entertainment, a surplus of food, and exquisite fashions. He lives in the wealthiest country in the world and boasts of the largest Gross National Product anywhere. But his pursuit of *products* to fill his needs has become the soul and substance of his life, and he has become a worshiper of "economicism." This quest for economic superiority may well be our ruin, unless educators ask some significant questions and initiate some immediate changes.

If the education system is committed simply to the production of high school graduates who can get jobs and thereby fit into the economy and to the production of college graduates who supposedly can get "better" jobs and also fit quietly and neatly into the economy, the perpetuation of the "products for people" concept will continue. What has happened to education as a liberalizing force? What has happened to education as a process that is supposed to free the individual, to help him develop his potential for living? What has happened to the first-grader who is excited and happy to learn? Why can't education be a happy, fulfilling experience?

Many of us today will not be content simply to ask questions dealing with the basic values of this country. We aren't satisfied with, "Oh, you'll understand how it is later." We're through kidding around. We are attempting to *live* our questions. Put it another way if you want to: we are living a life style which will insist that questions be asked.

Contrary to the public news media portrayal of students, most of us are not engaged in radical, disruptive tactics. While minority groups, especially blacks, have played an important role in probing decayed values of our society, they are like the part of an iceberg that shows above the water. Polls point out that the majority of students are of the opinion that society constricts them and will not allow them to be free.

Students are therefore seeking power–true power. They are beginning to understand that the power to advise is no power at all. They are tired of being listened to and then patted on the head and dismissed when decisions are made. And they are particularly convinced that changes in regard to the reality of power should take place on college campuses where thousands of teachers are prepared. They are convinced that current teacher education, the people it attracts and what we do with them, is hopelessly obsolete in terms of the needs of society. Fantini and Weinstein declare that "the problems of urban areas and urban schools are . . . mandating us to re-evaluate objectives, methodology, content, and virtually everything we know (or thought we knew) about education in general. Moreover, we are beginning to see that what is happening in large urban areas is really a preview of coming attractions for a major portion of our country."[1]

In addition, students are maintaining that student intelligence and insight have been largely suppressed as a factor in the improvement of education. Administrators and boards have directed colleges, principals have been in charge of schools, teachers have planned and taught courses, and students have taken what they have been given. In very few instances have they been consulted about curriculum or involved in other policy making. They have submitted to a system they have not helped to shape. The result the last few years has been disillusionment, disenchantment, and finally, protest and disruption in an attempt to change a system that is neither responsive nor humane.

In 1968, 35 percent of all persons graduating from college in this nation were prepared to teach.[2] That represents a sizeable portion of the college students in America. To date those students have never been organized effectively to serve as agents of change for the improvement that they envision in society. But they are in the process of getting organized, and the climate is right for them to do so. I am the president of an organization of more than 80,000 members who belong to 1,100 chapters in as many institutions across these United States. While most of us have not openly expressed our frustration in protest or disruption, we do feel a deep sense of alienation. However, we do have a sense of idealism–and we intend to use our abilities to help bring new vigor to the American scene.

What do we want to see changed in teacher education?

First, we want teacher education brought out of the bargain-basement class in America. Teacher education is usually the cheapest on the street. It is painfully easy to identify the school of education on most campuses; just look for the oldest building. How does the per capita cost of teacher education graduates compare with that of scientists, researchers, doctors, dentists, veterinarians? Are the latest technological improvements available? We spend money on war and space exploration today. Why don't we spend it on teacher education?

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[1] Fantini, Mario, and Weinstein, Gerald. *Making Urban Schools Work*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968. p. 2.

[2] National Education Association, Research Division. *Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1968*. Research Report 1969-R4. Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1969. p. 17.

And why is so much time wasted on students who never enter teaching? In 1968, one out of five persons prepared to teach in the elementary school didn't enter the profession; neither did one out of three prepared to teach in the secondary school.[3] Are these people accepted in teacher education only to swell college enrollments? And why are raw, new, unorganized colleges allowed to open their doors and get into the teacher education business practically the same day?

Here are some specific improvements students want in teacher education.

We want more connection between "life like it is" in the schools and our preparation. We do not want education courses taught by unqualified, inexperienced graduate students on their way to doctorates, graduate students who frequently have never been in the schools. In fact, we may want far fewer "courses." The lecture, the textbook, and the essay exam just aren't doing the job. We want independent study programs, experiences in other cultures, individualization of instruction. We want a willingness to be something other than traditional. Maybe we don't all need to spend four years in college before we teach. Maybe some of us could start sooner and maybe some of us should take longer. We want to get in the schools for intensive and extensive experiences while we are learning, and we want professors who will help us figure out how to teach in relation to the needs of society *today*.

A year and a half ago the Executive Committee of the Student National Education Association unanimously adopted a statement on the need for teacher education institutions to provide early and continuous direct experience as a part of preservice programs. That statement says, in part:

> Preservice education programs are not providing education students with sufficient experience for the task of teaching. All too often, student teaching is the only opportunity for students in education to work in the classroom situation. Early and continuous direct experience in schools and with children in the community must become an essential part of preservice education.
>
> Therefore, the Student NEA strongly urges all teacher education institutions to provide such experience as an integral part of their programs. As one method of meeting this objective, the Student NEA would like to call attention to the ideas and practices incorporated in the NCTEPS project of "The Teacher and His Staff," particularly as these are expressed in the use of college students as teacher aides.
>
> The Student NEA further urges all education students to express their discontent with those programs not providing early and continuous direct experience and to explore alternatives which would eliminate this deficiency.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

We want to be involved substantially in the *planning* for the preparation we get in a teacher education institution. That means we want to be represented on all committees, curriculum and otherwise. And it means that we want more than token involvement; we want to be a part of the decision-making process. The new NCATE standards require that a team visiting an institution that wishes to be accredited should examine the student participation in program evaluation and development and ascertain what influence this has had on the teacher education program.[4] But the real question is: Will accreditation be denied if there is too little student involvement? We maintain that accreditation should be denied. Student involvement in planning programs is so important that if it is not present in an institution, then that institution should not be preparing teachers. As students, we will not depend solely on the accreditation process to bring about student involvement, although we shall certainly use that wherever possible. We intend to make all of our student chapters on campuses where accreditation will take place in the next years aware of this standard; many students now don't even know what NCATE means. We intend to go further, however. We intend to locate and publicize places where significant student involvement has resulted in program improvement, and we intend to stimulate students all over the country to do likewise.

In addition to being involved in planning, we intend to be involved in the evaluation of our teacher education programs. We want to have something to say about who we think are good teachers; the publish-or-perish syndrome isn't as important to us as it is to some of you. Who evaluates a professor's teaching ability? Who does anything to help him improve? We want to give some feedback, too, about student teaching situations we find ourselves "assigned" to. Too often we have nothing to say about what happens during this experience; we intend to change that.

How are we as students going to develop power in teacher education? We are going to learn the principles of organization and bring together groups of people–other college students, teachers, administrators, community persons–who can recognize and identify existing power patterns in the educational field and decide what needs to be done in order to bring about improvement. We realize that we cannot do this alone, but we *can* bring it about, and we intend to do so. The Student NEA has initiated a special project this year dedicated to reform in education; you will be hearing more from us as that project develops.

We agree with Margaret Mead, who says:

> The development of prefigurational cultures will depend on the existence of a continuing dialogue in which the young, free to act on their own initiative, can lead their elders in the direction of the unknown. Then the

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[4] American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Evaluative Criteria Study Committee. *Recommended Standards for Teacher Education.* Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1969. p. 10.

> older generation will have access to the new experiential knowledge, without which no meaningful plans can be made. It is only with the direct participation of the young, who have that knowledge, that we can build a viable future.[5]

The direction in which education and teacher education are going must be changed. It is for this purpose, to assist in the improvement of education, that Student NEA is attempting to organize the point of view and the power of students who are an important segment of the university community. If students are not involved in decision making in regard to their preservice experiences, how can they ever function effectively as members of the profession when they begin teaching? Student power today means teacher power tomorrow. And that's what we are about.

The teachers and the students of today could well be the key to questioning the values of this society.

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[5] Mead, Margaret. *Culture and Commitment.* Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1970.

Staff Differentiation and the Education of Teachers

Bernard H. McKenna

This paper is based, in large measure, on the premise that the concept of differentiated staffing is likely to have the most meaning in a context of whether most schools need to carry on learning activities different from those that now typically characterize them; and if so, whether to carry on different learning activities requires different types and abilities of personnel than now exist in most schools.

A major assumption on which the views that follow are presented is that the level of quality of schooling[1] of children and youth will continue to be highly dependent on the appropriateness of the affective acts, cognitive processes, and psycho-motor transactions pupils perform as part of the program of the school and that this appropriateness should and can be influenced in great measure by teachers' actions.

The appropriateness of teachers' actions will obviously be determined by pupils' needs, interests, and talents, among other things. And substantial proportions of pupils' needs will be based on priorities (objectives) determined by the community, the school staff, and the pupils themselves.

A logical sequencing of these assumptions in terms of action can be expressed in a simple chronology for conducting schooling:

1. Determining objectives
2. Identifying activities of pupils appropriate for achieving the objectives
3. Describing, securing, preparing and continuously maintaining the kinds of staffs capable of influencing pupils to carry on the most appropriate activities for achieving the objectives.

The third item in the above chronology is the main concern of this paper. But it should be understood that the third can be discussed only in the context of the first and second; otherwise it becomes activity without purpose.

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[1] "Schooling" is used here (as distinguished from education) to indicate that part of the child's education which takes place in the institution called the school as compared to that part which takes place in a wide variety of settings in the greater society.

It will be assumed that the first–determining objectives–has been, or can be, developed involving the concerned groups in the appropriate mix. If this appears to be turning aside a monumental task lightly, it is not that it is looked on lightly by the writer. The task *is* monumental. But it is not the main subject of this paper; and there are those who have demonstrated that a creditable job can be done of developing objectives for schooling based on unique needs and priorities.

The second step–identifying activities to achieve the objectives–is likely as difficult an assignment. But there is sufficient evidence that appropriate pupil activities can be identified and developed for achieving most objectives of schooling to have confidence in its attainment.

Assuming the accomplishment of 1 and 2, the key question in this paper, based on the rationale described in the beginning, then becomes: ***What types of staff with what kinds of abilities are required to promote appropriate pupil activities for accomplishing stated objectives of schooling***?

Obviously, it's not quite that simple. There are additional questions of (a) How many staff of each type and ability are needed? and (b) which pupil activities might be better promoted by equipment rather than personnel? And which pupil activities might be totally self-initiated and directed?

But let us deal for the moment with the human element. This is justifiable in the argument that if the material and the technological, even the self-directed, aspects are to achieve their highest purpose and greatest potential, they are likely to do so only if the appropriate abilities in sufficient quantities are available in the human component.

Arguing thusly, the writer will remain with the prior question for a bit: What kinds of persons with what abilities are required to promote pupil activities for accomplishing stated objectives? And for the purpose of example, pursuit of this question will be confined to the geographical area of a school building serving a neighborhood attendance area.

If the answer to the question of what types and abilities in the staff are required to promote pupil activities to achieve stated objectives is ***the types and abilities currently present in the staff***, then there may be no need to consider differentiated staffing or any other change in kind, numbers, or organization as a need.

Making the assumption, though, that the stated objectives of a given school are current (up to date), that they reflect the changing needs of the society, and that the proposed pupil activities for achieving them are appropriate, it would be surprising if some change in types and abilities of staff were not required in most schools to accomplish the purposes.

Let us explore this hypothesis further in terms of some specifics. It would be surprising if locally stated objectives did not reflect some of the following:

1. The need to promote in pupils understandings in rapidly proliferating standard subject areas: nuclear physics in the sciences, psycho-linguistics in language arts, econometrics in economics, Boolean algebra in mathematics.

2. The need to promote understandings in new emerging disciplines: quantam physics, geopolitics, ecology.

3. The need to promote in pupils the development of a range of social and technical skills: driver training, satisfying sexual experiences, group process skills.

4. The need to promote in pupils the ability to interrelate the disciplines and to mediate between internalization of content and concern with live social issues.

5. The need to promote in pupils international understanding–a world view.

These are only illustrative. There are numerous others, and it would be surprising if any school developing objectives for the society of today and tomorrow did not conclude that, to develop these knowledges and skills, new and different activities are required on the part of pupils which strongly suggest new types of school staff personnel displaying abilities and commitments not now common.

Let us examine in more orderly fashion some additional rationales put forth for the requirement of different kinds of staff personnel for the schools, the new kinds of abilities required, the new kinds of personnel, and their meaning for the education of teachers.

Some Rationales

Of very high order is the hypothesis that if the schools are indeed serious about individualization of instruction for pupils–and they have long verbalized that they are but have, in fact, made minimal progress at implementing it–then they likely need to individualize programs for teachers much more than has heretofore been typical. That is, like pupils, different teachers have different interests, talents, and commitments. Yet two third-grade teachers (or fifth-grade) or, if you prefer, two senior English teachers are commonly expected to perform the same or highly similar tasks.

Another rationale is that the job of the generalist teacher is becoming increasingly unmanageable. This is reflected in some of the objectives just cited. For example, the typical third-grade teacher may be expected to handle half a dozen or more academic subjects, plus safety education, group process training, perhaps sex education, and frequently music, art, and physical education. Just now, formal courses related to the environment are being proposed. And there are a lot of other responsibilities that might be cited. Even at the secondary level, an English teacher might be expected to be competent in structural linguistics, general semantics, and communication theory in addition to the conventional grammar, composition, and literature. In addition, there are emerging specializations in administering technological learning devices (e.g., video-taping equipment, recording and listening apparatus, computers), large-group instruction, coordination of independent study, diagnosing and prescribing for learning dysfunctions, tutoring, and the like. It is argued that school staffs need to prepare for and assume responsibility for a less overwhelming range of tasks–a range more accommodating to their most important interests and highest talents.

A third rationale for introducing new types of personnel to the schools is that the education professions require more powerful career patterns for substantial numbers of their members *within the teaching ranks*. It's a fact that for those classroom teachers seeking new and interesting activities within the profession, there are almost no choices but to succeed to administration or supervision and to thus become disassociated from most direct contact with children and youth. It is also a fact that a high percentage of those who enter the profession pass through it for only a brief period on the way to other professions or to family-rearing. It should be possible for teachers to develop strong careers as teachers by becoming teacher leaders or teacher specialists and functioning as leaders of more junior members of the profession, helping induct new members to the profession, but also continuing to work directly with pupils in highly specialized ways such as diagnosing learning dysfunctions and prescribing teaching strategies for correcting them.

Closely related to the development of career patterns is the career ladder or career lattice concept. The career ladder idea argues that there should be more entry points to the teaching professions. As it is now, about the only way one can become a teacher is to attend college four years, take highly prescribed course sequences in education, go through a formal student teaching experience (ordinarily from eight to ten weeks), and obtain a degree and a certificate. A career ladder arrangement would allow personnel to become involved in the schools with less than college degrees, even with less than high school diplomas. For example, disadvantaged youth, retirees from other professions, housewives, and technicians might become involved in classroom and related activities at several levels as auxiliary personnel (teacher aides). And as they gained experience, expertise, and in-service training on the job, and additional formal education leading to diplomas, degrees, or licensure, they might move up the career ladder to increasing responsibilities. The lattice idea combines horizontal and vertical movement. On a lattice one might move vertically or horizontally as his change in training level, interest, and expertise dictated, to become increasingly involved in a single discipline, subdiscipline (geography, geopolitics), or teaching strategy (small group, inquiry training, interpersonal behavior development). Career ladders and lattices are developing increasingly in such other professions as architecture, dentistry, law, and medicine.

A fifth argument put forth for introducing new types of personnel with new abilities is related to the need for more opportunity in teacher education to combine theory and practice and to provide for gradual induction to the profession. Most current teacher education programs provide for formal course work, followed by student teaching, followed by certification, with the implicit condition that now the teacher is a full professional, prepared to take on the total range of responsibilities the same as those well seasoned by long experience and extensive advanced formal education. The prospective teacher, it is argued, should get early experience in the schools (at the freshman or sophomore level in college, or earlier), under the close supervision of senior clinical teachers, some of whom had received special preparation for inducting the novices. The teacher-trainee should combine work in the schools with formal course work in the university, moving back and forth comfortably from school to college, beginning with highly limited responsibilities in the schools and gradually increasing these responsibilities as his experience, expertise, and internalization of theory accumulated.

Such an arrangement might lead, it is theorized, to another rationale for different kinds of staffs: that they will result in developing more cooperative arrangements between schools of education and school systems in both preservice teacher education and in-service teacher education. Those who argue this point the most vigorously recommend relocating substantial portions of the teacher education function in the schools and suggest that some schools might become like teaching hospitals, where interns work with clinical instructors (both positions being uncommon currently) in learning to teach on the job and adding to their formal theoretical instruction those knowledges needed to solve specific problems of teaching and learning in the schools as they appear in working directly with children and colleagues.

A seventh rationale for developing staffs with different abilities is to place the governance of the profession, and the determination of professional matters, in the hands of those most expert to make such judgments—the professionals themselves. And in this respect distinction must be made between the governance of the profession and the control of education, the latter of which must, in the final analysis, remain in the charge of the duly designated governmental agencies and their representative personnel as determined by the electorate—the people themselves. As was pointed out by the NEA National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards in a recent position paper:

> There need not be fear that delegation of such responsibility will cause the public to lose control. To delegate a right is not to relinquish it but only to

> fix responsibilities with those who are best equipped to make expert judgments. Checks and balances to assure accountability can be provided through reporting requirements and through legislative review.[2]

More concretely, and in terms of implications for local schools, the self-governance concept leads to an eighth rationale for revised school staffing: that important curriculum policy decisions and the development of the curriculum itself need to be placed nearer to pupils–with the teachers themselves, who are responsible for implementing the policy. Specifically, curriculum decisions and curriculum development might be placed with teams of staff members within individual building units, teams in which some members would function as leaders in curriculum development generally and others would specialize in various specific curricular areas according to their interests, talents, and training. In the most *extreme* interpretation of this rationale, it is argued that the conventional general supervisory model may be obsolete, with the proliferation of new disciplines and of knowledge within already existing disciplines, with the new findings in the psychology and sociology of learning, and with the many alternate teaching strategies being developed to accompany the findings. It is further argued that the principalship, certainly the secondary principalship (and increasingly the elementary principalship, as elementary schools have grown larger), has not fulfilled the promise (nor is it likely to) of college textbooks in school administration that the principal's main responsibilities is that of educational leader of his building. This being so, it is stated, educational leadership should be placed with teams of teachers; and the job of the principal might be revised to include more managerial and coordinative responsibilities–not eliminating the career of principal, but redesigning it to more nearly resemble that of hospital administrator which is a full profession but one quite different from the medical profession.

The rationales for new abilities on the part of teachers, new arrangements for organizing school staffs, new means for career development in education, new responsibilities for governance of the teaching profession, new cooperative arrangements between schools and colleges and others have led those who study these problems to suggest experimentation with the concept of *differentiated staffing*.

Presentation of a definition of differentiated staffing at this point should help in understanding its relationship to the rationales for change presented earlier and to the implications for teacher education that follow.

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[2] "A Position Statement on Certification and Accreditation." Washington, D.C.: the Commission, May 5, 1969. p. 4.

A Definition of Differentiated Staffing

A tentative definition of differentiated staffing for present purposes might be as follows: *A plan for recruitment, induction, and continuous education and reeducation of staff personnel for the schools that would bring a much broader range of manpower to education than is now available.*

A differentiated staff would include teachers and a variety of special service personnel, subject matter specialists, and administrators—a staff somewhat but not totally identical to that which typically maintains currently. But in addition, there would be student teachers, interns, persons from other professions, craftsmen, volunteers, and several categories of paraprofessionals and teacher aides.

Within the teaching ranks some professionals might serve as leaders responsible for the induction of newcomers to the profession or coordinators of teams of their associates and assistants and the general management of the learning setting. Others might function mainly as diagnosticians of learning difficulties or constructors of individualized programs for pupils or developers of interpersonal attitudes and behaviors.

Implementation for Teacher Education

It has been argued that new kinds of personnel with different abilities are required to promote needed learning activities of pupils to accomplish stated objectives and to achieve a high quality of school learning. And several rationales related to both school learning and development of a stronger teaching profession have been presented for requiring different abilities in the school staffs. The concept of differentiated staffing has been suggested as one possibility for developing the new kinds of staff required.

Now comes the key question in this paper: *How shall they* (the staffs) *be educated*?

Without tying each recommendation to one of the preceding arguments, a list of suggested teacher education activities is presented below. It is believed that it will not be difficult for the reader to effect the linkage.

Implications for the Education of Teachers

If the concept of differentiated staffing becomes a viable eventuality, the following will need to become characteristic of teacher education programs:

1. Teacher education will need to result in every teacher having a specialization in depth, and many teachers will need to develop new and emerging specializations, perhaps several times during their careers.

2. Teacher education will need to result in teachers' developing understandings in several disciplines and their interrelationship and relevance to important national and international issues: race relations, civil disorder, deteriorating services in the cities, escalating crime, and growing pollution and congestion.

3. Teacher education will need to prepare substantial numbers of staff[3] to administer technology, to be able to integrate it into the total program, and to be able to mediate between the human and the material.

4. Teacher education will need to result in all staff having group process skills and affective attitudes and behaviors exemplifying wholesome human relations.

5. Teacher education will need to result in a high percentage of staff being able to work in teams and plan as part of teams.

6. Teacher education will need to result in school staffs being able to individualize instruction through a variety of means.

7. Teacher education will need to develop substantial numbers of staff to be concerned with diagnosing learning difficulties and prescribing remediation.

8. Teacher education will need to result in preparing substantial numbers of staff to be involved in the development of curriculum content and teaching strategies.

9. Teacher education will need to result in all staff being able to conduct self-evaluation and some to be involved in developing and administering a broad range of approaches to the evaluation of instructional process and outcomes.

10. Teacher education will need to prepare some instructional staff to lead their colleagues in a variety of roles directly related to teaching and learning.

11. Teacher education will need to prepare some staff to be mainly concerned with programs of induction of the newcomers to the profession and to reorientation of those reentering the profession and to implementing the career ladder concept.

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[3] As used here, the term refers to elementary and secondary school staff.

12. Teacher education will need to prepare substantial numbers of teachers to have understandings about and skills in governance of the profession, including entry into the profession, certification, accreditation, autonomy, and accountability.

13. Teacher education will need to seek out a broader range of manpower to prepare for involvement in the schools–disadvantaged youth, housewives, retirees, technicians, professionals from other professions.

14. Teacher education will need to develop its programs so as to create more entry points to the profession.

15. Teacher education will need to individualize programs of preparation to accommodate the broader range of manpower and multiple entry points.

16. Teacher education will need to more closely relate the theory of instruction to practice in the schools.

17. Teacher education will need to relocate substantial portions of its total activity to the working setting–the schools themselves.

18. Teacher education will need to assume increasingly more responsibility for evaluating the outcomes of its total effort.

19. Teacher education will need to make use of measures assessing ability to perform in determining the readiness of its charges to assume full professional responsibilities.

20. Teacher education will need to more meaningfully relate itself to and more constructively influence the licensure process as well as the accreditation of institutions that prepare teachers.

21. Teacher education will need to recognize that elementary and secondary education increasingly take place in settings other than the schools and to revise both content and process accordingly.

Teachers for the Ghetto

Samuel Shepard, Jr.

In my opinion, in the decade which lies ahead we may very well witness a better deal for the children and youth of the ghetto or poor neighborhoods of our metropolitan areas. There appears to be a new spirit of hope for the children of these sections of the great cities of our nation, call these environs what you may—slum, inner-city, disadvantaged, poor, or ghetto. My optimism emanates from the fact that many good teachers are now choosing the difficult task of teaching in these areas and are finding personal and professional satisfaction in working where the need is greatest. Many federally sponsored teacher preparation programs have been specifically designed to attract excellent people into the inner-city schools. The Education Professions Development Act (EPDA), Veterans Accelerated Urban Learning for Teaching (VAULT), the National Teacher Corps, and the Career II projects are some of the better known programs that are financing the training of a large number of teachers for ghetto schools. Reading is FUNdamental is another project, using volunteers, which brings excellent people into ghetto area schools. There is scarcely any secrecy to the fact that the children of the poor need more, not less, from their schools. Teaching in such schools is still the most difficult and demanding task in the education profession. In fact, the foremost challenge in American education today is that of educating the ghetto or poor child. Local, national, and world conditions of unrest make this latter statement true. A brief review of these circumstances seems necessary if we are to get the needed perspective on teaching in the ghetto.

As we enter the seventies, our nation finds herself in the midst of some of the most difficult times in history. The schools and their teachers are caught in a cybernetic upset in which the very survival of our country is at stake. Conditions in the United States surely reveal a state of uneasiness and a state of restlessness that threaten the very moral fiber of our existence. The most turbulent of these threats are reflected in the behavior patterns of an increasing number of our youth—teen-agers and young adults. Some would say that far too many of our youth have been alienated from responsible living because adults have not provided the necessary guidance. There may be elements of truth in such a statement. Whatever the facts, of one thing we are certain; that is, many of our long-standing values are disintegrating. We are living during a period in history when man's inhumanity to man is at an all-time high and the morals of mankind appear to be at an all-time low. Yet it cannot be denied that man has attempted and is still attempting to achieve an even higher level of human dignity for all men, regardless of race, creed, or national origin.

We are now more willing to examine our plight than ever before. Perhaps we are acutely aware that our society is deteriorating before our eyes. Perhaps we see the handwriting on the wall. Partly because of what we see and recognize as disaster and partly because we are being forced to give up some of our long-held values, we are probing and searching desperately for answers.

We are now more willing to accept and implement answers than we have been in the past. We hope we have learned that the failure to recognize or solve a problem intensifies the problem. The greater the problem, the less the chances are of solution within our existing framework of problem-solving techniques.

Despite our affluence, many of the social problems of our people have gone unrecognized and unsolved. Our efforts to maintain the status quo have widened the gap in unemployment, poverty, hunger, and misery to a degree greater than ever before recorded in our history. Young people, especially members of minority groups, are rebelling against some of the proprieties that to them perpetuate the status quo. The late Senator Robert Kennedy saw clearly the predicament in which we find ourselves in America when he observed that our times and country may go down in history as the civilization "that stood amidst slums and shot rockets to the moon."

Because of the many changes in our style of living and the extraordinary technological advances that have been made, both by our nation and by others, our concern in 1970 for human relations and moral and spiritual values may be overshadowed by our desire to participate competitively in those materialistic behaviors that technological advances have brought to the world. The speed of these changes, in historical perspective, is as unprecedented as is the nature of our current patterns of living. A man on the moon via commercial flight is now just months away. Hippies and nudist camps are as unchallenged in the society as college females on weekend dates in the men's dormitory suites of fashionable and reputable universities. Fifth- and sixth-grade students are currently demanding that sex education, including information on birth control, be incorporated in the elementary school curriculum. Nudity in the movie industry is closing the speech, acting, and dramatic schools in Hollywood–a nude doesn't need training.

A cartoon in a recent issue of an educational journal made it clear that times are changing. In the cartoon, one parent was saying to the other, "Little George is a freshman sitting-in at Oberlin, John is a junior protesting at Berkeley, and Frank, Jr. is a senior at Indiana U., rioting at Fort Lauderdale." It is not in cartoon form yet, but you'd better believe it when I tell you that black students have abandoned traditional peaceful approaches to solving some of their problems at school because no one recognized the problem or listened to the proposed solution. Violence, vandalism, and destruction of property have erupted in the public schools of the large cities around the country. Black militants have invaded the sanctity of the churches of America to tell their stories of racial injustice. Conflict and confrontation seem to be the order of the day–no community is immune. Is violence the only media through which America can recognize a problem?

This militance to which I refer may be a form of protest against the status quo in all aspects of our society. Our people, young and old, rich and poor, black and white, may be reacting to the conflict they recognize between our values as stated and the realities of the war in Vietnam, teacher strikes, racial discrimination and segregation, religious hypocrisy, and the struggle of the poor in our affluent society. Too often in school, politics, government, industry, and all other facets of our society there are gross inconsistencies between our stated moral tenets and our overt behavior. Our actions belie our stated convictions. These gross inconsistencies confuse and frustrate our youth, who desperately seek honest and real ideals to which they can adhere.

So we find ourselves in perilous times. As school people, we have a piece of the action. The schools cannot bear the brunt of the burden; the larger society must take that responsibility. Industry, business, and religion, for example, are important sectors of our society which must take responsible leadership in bringing about constructive change in our local communities.

However, our schools are not accepting fully the responsibilities assigned to them. We can exercise some control over our own house, so to speak. We can improve our human relations among ourselves as staff members–principals, teachers, nurses, social workers, speech teachers, matrons, custodians, bus drivers–and the "outside world" of students, parents, and local patrons. The day-to-day conduct of staff personnel serves as models for students. Adults in our society set the standards of behavior for both adults and youth. Deviations from these standards on the part of youth are either by adult permissiveness or adult apathy. Either of these forces can destroy the moral fiber that should be internalized by our youth, creating criterion behavior acceptable to the society and glorified by youth, who look forward to an acceptable role in adult society.

But the fundamental contribution the school staff can make in human relations is to the students. Teachers can teach human relations values in depth, that is, respect for people different from oneself in terms of skin color, religious beliefs, language patterns, sex, economic status, etc. But of far greater significance is the human relationship the teacher establishes with each individual student. This is the single most important relationship in the life of the child. If the teacher can assist the student to establish a good working relationship in which there is mutual respect, that teacher has laid the basis for preventing conflict and confrontation and for promoting a dialogue which could forestall problems relating to the generation gap. In fact, a good human relationship between teacher and pupils is the basic ingredient needed to ease the critical impasse between the schools and the dissident students and their drop-out friends.

This, then, is part of the rationale for all teacher-training institutions to train and develop teachers who are skilled in human relations. This rationale should be of great interest to all teacher education groups such as the Association for Student Teaching.

We have not solved all of our problems in the Banneker District in St. Louis, but I am sure my experiences in the district and in the field of education have given me a few insights which might have some value in our endeavors to find the answers we need so desperately.

I believe that I know who the ghetto children are and some of the factors in their lives making them what they are. I have lived and worked among them for many years. I know that they are human beings with feelings, hopes, frustrations, joys, sorrows, and desires to escape which, though not exactly the same in terms of specific objects and occasions, are the same in kind, at least, and in importance to their lives as those of the members of any social class. I know that they are usually victims of poverty and products of a cultural and interpersonal environment that leaves much to be desired as a source of experience situations capable of developing healthy and responsible citizenship.

Although ghetto residents are now largely nonwhite, I know that the pupils of this group are of all racial and ethnic backgrounds and that they often enter school with a lack of readiness in terms of attitudes, values, language development, and motivation–with the result that, insofar as success in school is concerned, they have two strikes against them.

I know, too, that there is no foundation for the all-too-common and easy assumption that the ghetto child cannot be an average or high achiever in school. True, the cultural environment in which he is born and is being reared has handicapped, and indeed continues to seriously handicap, him in terms of his self-image, motivation, and general personality structure. But these are all learned, not inherited, traits. It stands to reason, therefore, that inasmuch as they have been acquired through experience, they can be replaced in the same general way. So when we get down seriously to the task of reorganizing the school program for them, let us not automatically envision for them only life adjustment and other low-level academic goals or semiskills and other vocationally limited expectations.

I offer this suggestion because I have found that the most significant difference between a ghetto child or youth and one who is not is one of motivation and orientation toward formal education. When the ghetto child has been helped to see himself as really capable of achieving success in school and has been convinced that such success can and will make an important difference in his opportunities to earn the good life as we know it–rightly or wrongly–in these

United States, that child frequently does achieve on a level equal to that of his nondisadvantaged classmate.

It would seem, then, that the approach to educating the ghetto child should not start off with faulty, low expectations. It is true, however, that because of cultural disadvantage this child has an urgent need for compensatory and remedial experience opportunities; but let these be regarded as initial or introductory aspects of his total education and not ends in themselves.

I am suggesting that the key to the whole needed change in the education of the nation's ghetto children is a corps of understanding, dedicated teachers whose breadth of formal and informal experience has enabled them to see beyond the accidents of the present low achievement levels and antisocial behavior patterns of their pupils and to discern clearly the human being whose capacities for desirable social and academic development have not yet been tapped. I am pleading now for teachers who are masters in the art of human relations–who are dedicated to the challenge of helping the ghetto child, youth, and adult to both discover their real potentialities and develop a desire to bring these capacities to full fruition.

The late Lorraine Hansberry caught the insight to which I'm referring when she wrote her play, "A Raisin in the Sun." She said:

> There is always something left to love and if you ain't learned that, you ain't learned nothing. Have you cried for that boy today?–What he been through and what it done to him–When do you think is the time to love somebody the most; when they done good and made things easy for everybody? Well, then, you ain't through learning–because that ain't the time at all. It's when he's at his lowest and can't believe in himself 'cause the world done whipped him so. When you starts measuring somebody, measure him right . . . measure him right. Make sure you done taken into account what hills and valleys he come through before he got to wherever he is.

Future teachers in ghetto neighborhoods should be exposed gradually to life there like it is. The college and university staffs should by all means gain some firsthand knowledge and experience of ghetto and inner-city life as it actually exists. If one has never witnessed the mathematical wizardry of a ghetto child or been awed by the abstract perception of a poor black child or been shocked by some of the language patterns, one is hardly in a position to appreciate and believe that ghetto children have great academic potential. Perhaps at this point an additional description of the central city or ghetto child would provide a frame of reference for indicating what kind of teachers are needed for ghetto schools.

It has been indicated that the ghetto child would have counterparts in all races. Whatever his ethnic or racial background, he will be poor and will manifest this poverty in the clothes he wears, his lack of cleanliness, his generally undernourished condition, and his tendency to be suspicious of all who make a middle class impression. In spite of all, there are many residents in poor neighborhoods who maintain standards of cleanliness and dress equal to many middle class families. Mentally the ghetto child is sharp, but not necessarily in areas of learned behavior which intelligence tests measure. For example, the chances are the reader of this paper cannot open the coin box of a parking meter with a piece of wire as can many ghetto youths. It is ironical that the $25,000 a year engineer who designed the parking meter declared it foolproof. Again, few middle class youths and adults know how to start a General Motors Corporation automobile with a straight pin as can many ghetto youths. This despite the claim by General Motors that their automobiles cannot be started except with the proper key.

In view of these circumstances, one of the problems of teaching ghetto children comes clearly into focus; that is, how to channel their abilities and cognitive skills into embracing and absorbing the academic style and materials which our society has created as a necessity but which are irrelevant to ghetto life. Only ghetto children can write the sparkling and colorful prose, poetry, and songs which they write. Moreover, the ghetto family must exhibit the highest degree of intellectual skill in managing the family budget, such as paying rent, buying clothing and food, and meeting current expenses on approximately twenty dollars per month per child.

These, however, are only the external differences which anyone can plainly see. Other, far more important characteristics exist–traits which we might not see or understand but which greatly influence and perhaps even determine whether or not our pupils will remain in school and move up the socioeconomic ladder of our nation in the desired manner.

The ghetto youth frequently has an image and a concept of himself that are decidedly negative. More than likely his early, preschool interpersonal experiences will have been so limited and so characterized by inconsistent child-rearing patterns ranging from almost complete parental neglect to excessive authoritarian controls that he will not see himself as a worthy, loved, and wanted individual.

Closely related to this unrealistically low opinion of himself will be his value-attitudinal system which he has learned from contact with people and things in his environment. What are some of the values and attitudes?

First, he is not likely to see much good in or derive much pleasure from going to school–a place in which he discovers quite early that he is neither successful nor liked. Indeed, there is a strong likelihood, especially if this child is a boy, and particularly a Negro boy, that he will see the school and the many different activities that go on in it as a woman's world–not suited to any self-respecting boy at all. Then there is the matter of pleasing the teacher. Ordinarily a child from a ghetto environment couldn't care less whether he pleases or wins the approval of his teacher. On the contrary, it might even be to his advantage, insofar as his status with his peers is concerned, to actually *displease* the teacher and provoke him to anger.

But the value-attitudinal system behind the disorientation of the ghetto child is of far greater significance than his dislike for schools because this system pervades this child's approach to invidiual and group living. In a word, his system is not at all similar to that which characterizes middle class society. Rather, it is a system of standards that is geared to wringing a tolerable existence out of a life filled with limitations, poverty, and reminders of the worthlessness of self. In this life environment the child faces daily scenes which violate all standards of middle class morality and in the context of such morality would send the middle class viewer into prolonged states of shock. This is a life which places a premium on living at any price and in any way regardless of the morality such living violates. Is it any wonder, then, that the ghetto child–especially the Negro child–sees life and aspires toward goals that are alien to those of middle class Americans? Is it any surprise that he has behavioral tendencies that are high in what sociologists call copability value because these behaviors enable him to deal successfully with problems that would quickly overwhelm middle class youth of similar age–white or black–but low in terms of middle class standards?

It is important–it is crucial–to working successfully with ghetto youth to understand in depth this value system, to realize that a low score on an intelligence test by a ghetto child is very probably not at all indicative of low intellectual capacity; and to hold fast to the hope and, indeed, expectation that such a child can and will in time make a 180-degree turn from his present course of antisocial, antidemocratic, and antihuman development and begin the long but sure climb upward until he becomes just as valuable, just as responsible, and just as productive as the most "middle" of the middle class in our great society.

Still another characteristic of the poor child which a teacher must fully understand and be sufficiently skillful to turn to an advantage for that pupil is the motivation dynamic of such a child. What are the forces that stir him, push him into action, and inspire him to serious as well as sustained effort? And let me assure you that ghetto youngsters are just as capable of deep and abiding concerns and extended efforts as are members of any sociocultural group. The following will easily verify this conclusion:

Are you acquainted with a brand of fine footwear known by any lower class Negro boy of age twelve who can lay claim to being anything but a square? The brand name is Bannisters, the quality is superior, and the price would make a middle class man or boy think three or four times before even considering buying such shoes. Yet, what ghetto Negro boy wouldn't give his eyeteeth for a pair? The credit department of some of the most fashionable men's wear shops in St. Louis have on file records which show that many a boy and young man has saved and paid diligently over a period of months on a pair of these fine shoes. Perseverance in the pursuit and accomplishment of such a goal as this caused little or no difficulty to these youths. Why? Why are they able to stick to and finally achieve a purpose which, according to middle class standards of thrift and consumer purchases, is nothing short of ridiculous? The answer is as simple as it is compelling: shoes of this quality represent, in a way more tangible and concrete than anything the school offers, status achievement, peer approval and acceptance. However economically unsound such a purchase is, however irrational the goal might be in terms of values and the realities of life, the fact remains that Bannisters and other articles of clothing like them can and do bring social rewards that far outstrip anything a school, which represents an alien, square culture, can give.

The purpose in citing this fact of lower class youth life is not to hold up to ridicule the kind of mentality or thinking that makes such a goal seem so important but to illustrate in a realistic way that serious and prolonged effort, even personal sacrifice over a sustained period of time, are not foreign to the ghetto class mentality or ability.

What, then, is the general motivation principle of lower class children and youth? You might be surprised to learn that basically it is the same thing that stirs up anyone and causes him to act. It is his own value system—an acquired hierarchy of worth into which fall all the things, people, places, and ideas with which the individual has come in contact up to a given moment in his life. Anybody, anything—even shoes or shoelaces—which any individual, regardless of his socioeconomic-cultural background, has learned to see as personally enhancing—usually in terms of acceptance by and status within a desired group—will be, for him, motivating.

We have already seen in a very compelling and dramatic way that the key in the hierarchy of value for a lower class youth—especially children of the ghetto—is anything that enables him to wring a living out of his poverty-stricken environment and thereby satisfy the biological demands of the flesh. Status symbols which idealize such satisfactions in terms of quality goods become extremely valued goals and, therefore, highly motivating forces. In a word, the poor child or youth is interested in living high off the hog or at least in giving the appearance of doing so. That which enables him to accomplish this aim is unquestionably motivating for him.

Now, what are the implications of this fact for teaching? Does it follow that teachers cannot hope to interest the ghetto child in those goals and those learnings that are so necessary to success in American life? I would answer with an emphatic no! On the contrary, teachers not only can promote such interests and develop substantial growth in them but must do so if our way of life is to endure and prosper.

By now it should be obvious that, with so much at stake, just any kind of teacher for ghetto children will not do. Just any kind of teacher using any kind of techniques will not do either. While I cannot offer here complete specific descriptions of such needed teachers and techniques, I can offer some general guidelines and recommendations which, when coupled with qualities and traits mentioned earlier, should prove helpful. Perhaps then the kind of teachers who are needed for schools in poor neighborhoods may begin to be discernible.

I would suggest to teachers that they not prejudge either the kind of learning which can be expected from the ghetto child or the extent or depth to which the learning might extend. In short, my suggestion to teachers is: Enter into your classrooms unshackled by limited vision and aborted expectations. See in each face, whether it be turned upward toward you with young enthusiasm and respect or downcast and away from you in sullen suspicion and distrust, the possibilities for growth and development into responsible and productive citizens. If you can do this, your vision and expectations will be contagious and will spread to the children, heightening their own views and hopes for themselves, and will result in greater and more sustained effort, positive outlooks, and higher goals.

I would also suggest that teachers of ghetto children develop unusual skill in the art of communication. Communication is the lifeline of human relations. The *quality* of one's interpersonal relations is as good as the quality of his communications. The quality of one's communication is as high as the degree to which he considers in his endeavors to express himself the various possible meanings of the words he uses and the understandings and background of those with whom he is communicating. Perhaps more important is the use of the right tone of voice, inflection, and accompanying gestures. It presupposes something other than language mastery, that is, genuine respect for the person with whom one is communicating. The more consistently objective one is in his knowledge of himself–his motives, his fears, his hopes, his values, his biases and prejudices–the more likely he is to make the necessary considerations for effective communication. The teacher must communicate with her pupils for effective learning situations.

The extent to which a human being has the emotional support of the people within his group or the group with which he is attempting to communicate is the extent to which he is able to communicate with that group. Only the emphathic teacher can communicate with the ghetto child.

The teacher of the ghetto pupil needs unusual skill in structuring learning situations so that even the seemingly recalcitrant and uninterested pupil finds himself swept up in a current of wonderment, challenge, and purposeful activities. I say the teacher of ghetto children, if he is to be successful, must be skillful in this kind of teaching because his pupils do not come to the learning situation equipped with motivations, readiness, attitudes, and learning strategies that most middle class children have as a matter of course.

I also recommend to teachers that, whatever materials and teaching methods they employ, they create with them a learning atmosphere in which the dominant and pervading characteristic is respect and genuine concern for their pupils. Success with the ghetto child will depend not so much on any special materials to which the teacher might have access or special teaching techniques he may employ as it will upon the degree of personal warmth and noncondescending air he can surround himself with as he moves among the pupils. I would add, too, that the more he can structure learning situations that are vital and alive with elements that are real and meaningful in the lives of the pupils, the more he will be able to involve his learners in worthwhile activities which will help them to see and understand, as he does, that success in school is their most important business.

The teacher must believe that every human being possesses the same inherent dignity and is, therefore, entitled to the same respect accorded all other human beings. Because of this sameness of dignity, every human being is also entitled to opportunities to fulfill his human potentialities and to live in accordance with his dignity.

The ideal design for human group living is acceptance of each person regardless of his behavior. Thus, in such group living, the humanity of the person is seen as transcending his behavior. It is this humanity, because of its inherent dignity, that is accepted; it is the behavior (an accident) that might well be rejected. The teacher must be willing to accept the child for what he is.

The way an individual perceives and conceptualizes reality is, indeed, reality for him and, as such, influences his values and attitudes and directs his behavior. The teacher must be aware of the realities as seen by ghetto youth.

Every human being can solve his own problems at his own level of ability if he knows his resources and can get at them. Whether or not he actually does so depends largely upon his values. Values must be taught in terms of two worlds in which the child lives.

Every individual is largely the product of his identification and internalization with respect to some human model. The more worthy the identification models are, the more likely the individual will have a wholesome and desirable personality. The teacher is the model.

To change an individual, one must first change his perceptions and conceptualizations of reality and his value system with respect to these percepts and concepts. This is a total process in which the teacher is the leader.

Every individual exists in a constantly changing world of experience–his own–of which he is the center. Therefore, every individual has a basic and compelling drive to maintain, activate, and enhance self and will internalize only that which he sees as maintaining, activating, and enhancing of self. The teacher must structure situations for self-enhancement.

The self-concept is the most significant single factor on the natural level in motivating and shaping behavior. Every individual, to be a fully functioning member of his group and of the larger society, must have a positive and realistic self-concept. The teacher must have one and help the child develop one.

To build new values within an individual, the teacher must know what values the individual already has and must use these as a starting point. One way to know the value system of an individual or group is to discover consistencies and directions of behavior–especially in the attempts of the individual or group to meet and solve problems. Once the present values are known, the teacher must help the individual to see the new learning as more self-enhancing than the present system or commitment.

Teachers of ghetto children should exhibit a liking for people, especially children. The teacher of the disadvantaged is one who has voluntarily gravitated toward children in scouting, Sunday school, hobbies, clubs, and the like. Those who are basically people-centered are happiest in teaching because they are with groups of people every day. They are happiest in teaching because they are ready to accept the fascinating, droll, often exasperating, always intriguing ways of children. He believes in their basic need for adults who express values and ideals to which they can cling. And because he is basically people centered, he learns more about human behavior, growth, and development and is able to link insight and patience with belief. Caroline Zachry, as did Lorraine Hansberry, expresses it well: "A child needs someone who believes in him no matter what he does. A child is never so much in need of love as when he is the most unlovable."

I repeat, teachers of ghetto children should exhibit empathy. Webster defines empathy as the projection of one's own personality into the personality of another in order to understand him better; intellectual identification of oneself with another.

Empathy with children who have limited experiences and different cultural and ethnic backgrounds is indeed difficult. But teachers can train themselves to be quite perceptive to many of the problems and conditions of their pupils. The ghetto child doesn't want sympathy. He doesn't want pity. He doesn't want benevolence. The teacher of this child must be sensitive to his perceiving and his behaving. The teacher who sympathizes all day perpetuates the dilemma in which the child finds himself.

Teachers of ghetto children should exhibit creativeness. The environment of these children includes almost nothing to lift up their hopes and spirits. There is almost nothing to help them aspire to a higher grade of life. Important as the physical environment is to creative teaching, the psychological environment is of even greater importance. The teacher of ghetto children must show creative concern that these children live in and know their own world and the other world, that they stretch their minds to the dimensions of their problems, that they enjoy learning, that they respect themselves as people able to think. The teacher must be so creative in his activities that he encourages the child to express himself, to release his inner feelings and be stimulated to try out his own ideas rather than to accept someone else's ideas. In order that the child may do this, he must value his own ideas and feel free to express them. His teacher, then, is one who is interested in him as a person; and most of all, he charges all things he fashions with a breath of his own spirit.

We see clearly the need for teachers who are noncondescending, perceptive humans, knowledgeable about the community, including the values, language patterns, and speech idioms. Further, ghetto teachers must be enthusiastic, fair, firm, and courageous enough to expect their pupils to learn from the activities structured for them. Such a teacher needs to be free to teach and have time to teach. These are two important conditions for the success of all teachers with poor children. Unfortunately, these conditions seldom exist in schools in ghetto neighborhoods.

The ghetto child needs teachers who generate interesting activities to accompany a structured academic program that will change concepts already formed, develop new positive attitudes to replace negative ones, increase achievement as measured by standardized tests, strengthen the areas of conation, and place the child on the road to self-help. There is no substitute and no compromise for this need.

Perhaps a concluding statement regarding the black child is in order. The Negro child is a victim of society rather than a product of it. The challenge to educators today is how to get the Negro child to become a part of the life-space field and move him into a state of dynamic equilibrium where he is both willing and able to restructure the field for himself and society when each becomes a part of the other.

Learning takes place in an atmosphere that is a balance between complete security and complete conflict. In such a climate, the learner must always feel accepted and wanted. The teacher must control the environment to the extent that it develops a feeling of acceptance and eliminates a feeling of hostility. Every human being has basic needs which must be met. Some of these needs have been discussed. Especially for the black child, the basic psychological needs which the school must meet through the teacher include security, acceptance, sense of accomplishment, sense of belonging, and sense of personal worth. The best summary regarding the black child I can present is in the words of Charles Evers, the recently elected black mayor of Fayette, Mississippi. In response to the question, "What can the well-meaning whites do to help correct some of the injustices?" he replied, "Tell them, just do what is right. It ain't easy, but it is simple to say."

The seventies just may witness an upturn for solving the educational problems of the ghetto. Having had two decades of experience in studying and analyzing the problem in all of its aspects, America may somehow both discover and generate the will to do what she knows must be done to survive as a free nation. It must be recognized that education is only one facet of a thriving nation. However, education furnishes the lifeblood, as it were, for the ongoing life of the nation–economic, religious, and social. This spirit of understanding, backed with good human relations and coupled with a strong will to survive, may afford education the opportunity to function effectively in developing productive citizens. The task will not be easy. A democracy such as ours cannot afford the alternative. Its very existence and continued prosperity demand that we free the human spirit of millions of our citizens from the enslavement of poverty and ignorance and from the social evils such enslavement engenders.

Negotiation and the Education of Teachers

William R. Hazard*

The education of teachers has long been a monopoly held by a small number of self-proclaimed experts. Decisions about admission to training programs, the nature and extent of the preparation, and the professional knowledge and skills required for entry into the profession have all been the province of professors in colleges and universities. These professional gatekeepers, not directly affected by the work product of the teachers they prepare, nevertheless control the processes of selection, training, and entry into teaching. Pupils, parents, teachers, and the public generally have been excluded from the decisions affecting the number, kinds, and performance criteria of teachers produced under this system of teacher education. Teacher-board negotiations threaten to change this control pattern.

The literature of collective negotiation in education is extensive; seers and prophets abound, and the nitty-gritty of negotiation is well documented. In the two-year period from June 1957 to June 1959, the *Education Index* reported only two journal articles under the heading, "Collective Bargaining." Since 1965, the entries have held at a steady twenty to twenty-five per year. Interest in teacher-board bargaining is up, the stakes are high, and the curse of scholarly inquiry is hard upon it. The negotiation processes, strategies, issues, and outcomes have been studied by many reputable researchers. The impact of teacher-board negotiations on teacher education, however, has received little attention.

This paper reviews some provisions of negotiated teacher-board contracts dealing with teacher training, attempts to assess the impact of these provisions on teacher education, and outlines their implications for the profession. Assumptions underlying some common practices in teacher education are questioned and some training alternatives are proposed.

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PART I: PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATION AND EDUCATION

Negotiation in the Schools

Teacher-board negotiations are a recent phenomenon; formal negotiations as we know them today were rare prior to the late 1950's. Teachers organized at the local, state, and national levels much earlier, but the confrontation, power-accommodation type negotiations, as Wildman calls them, were rare. Teacher-board discussions with little or no firepower in the teacher group can scarcely be equated with the organizational power and strike threat ("sanctions" or "work stoppages," if you will) hanging over current negotiations. Crudely put, the contrast is between the hat-in-hand requests of then and the strident demands of now. Since the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) was elected bargaining agent for New York City's 50,000 teachers in 1962, well over twenty-six hundred negotiation agreements have been entered by teachers and boards.[1] These agreements range from memoranda acknowledging the teachers' existence to sophisticated, detailed contracts over a wide scope of subjects.

Collective action lies at the heart of teacher-board negotiations. Disenchanted with the limited power and low return from individual bargaining, teachers followed the lead of the industrial and trade unions to organize for collective action. This movement, first enunciated by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in 1935, caught the self-proclaimed "professional" teachers organizations (notably the NEA) off base. Until 1947, the NEA professed hostility and indifference to collective bargaining by teachers. Such tactics were decidedly "unprofessional" in the NEA party line. This view persisted until 1947, at which time the NEA, as a means to meet the educational crisis (Must education forever respond to "crises"?), embraced the principle of collective bargaining.[2] Like the child marriages of the Far East, however, this union was not consummated until the NEA's adoption of Resolution 15 at the 1965 Convention.[3] Whether prompted by the fierce competition for membership or by some late-blooming organizational strategy, the AFT and the NEA now take similar positions and espouse similar rhetoric in teacher-board dialogue. In the span of thirty years, the AFT and the NEA reached basically identical ideological postures on collective bargaining in public schools. Carlton and Goodwin sum it up nicely:

> Traditionally a relatively docile, non-activist group, teachers in many parts of the country have rapidly developed an aggressiveness and social

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[1] The NEA Research Division in 1968-69 analyzed 2,065 negotiation agreements in school systems with one thousand or more pupils enrolled.

[2] National Education Association, Executive Committee. "The Professional Way To Meet the Educational Crisis." *NEA Journal* 36:47; February 1947.

[3] National Education Association. *Guidelines for Professional Negotiation.* Revised edition. Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1965. p. v.

> commitment unheard of only ten years ago. . . . The key to their success lies in organization. Individually, teachers have little bargaining power; they are often viewed as relatively interchangeable parts of a massive educational machine. Collectively, however, through controlling the labor supply, they have the wherewithal to change their conditions of work . . . and to assume a larger role in educational decision-making.[4]

Legislation and Negotiation

Teachers and school boards negotiate with or without legislative blessing; the law adds legitimacy and respectability to the practice. Twenty-six states[5] have enacted legislation mandating or permitting teachers and boards to engage in some style of negotiation. Wisconsin enacted the first negotiation bill in 1959 and set the pattern for treating school employment problems through a state employment relations board. Three other states permit teachers to organize: Illinois, by court decision; Indiana, by law; and Kentucky, by opinion of the attorney general.[6] The negotiation laws range from near-rituals of meet-and-confer to genuine collective bargaining with built-in teeth. In most legislation, the mandate is clear that the teachers and boards must bargain in good faith—a state of mind easier to wish for than to prove. Although the language varies, the most common legislative expectation is some measure of teacher-board harmony on hours, wages, and working conditions. Needless to say, reasonable men do not always agree on the specifics included in "working conditions."

The negotiation laws usually deal with the matters of coverage (certificated personnel only, all school employees, separate bargaining groups, etc.), scope of negotiations (what topics or issues can be negotiated), procedural steps (who does what when), resolution of impasse (fact-finding, mediation, arbitration, etc.), and organizational structures to implement the law (Wisconsin, for example, uses the state employment relations agency).

Perhaps the least effective features in negotiation legislation are the provisions for impasse resolution. No state law provides for involuntary ultimate resolution of a teacher-board impasse. Mediation, fact-finding, public pressure, and advisory arbitration all fall short of that final step. The legislative reluctance to enact such resolution machinery is not difficult to fathom: parties to a dispute may prefer to bypass the conversation steps and go directly to the ultimate decision point. Thus, to enact some kind of final-authority, last-answer mechanism would result in pressure to move the conflict directly to that mechanism. Perhaps the legislatures perceive some distorted analogue to Gresham's Law and figure that "bad" procedure (the resolution) drives out the "good" (nonresolving conversation).

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[4] Carlton, Patrick W., and Goodwin, Harold I., editors. *The Collective Dilemma: Negotiations in Education.* Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1969. p. 1.

[5] As of July 1970: Alaska, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

[6] See: Linn, John Philip, and Nolte, M. Chester. "Collective Bargaining Legislation in Education," in Carlton and Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-22.

Legislative Silence: The Board's Dilemma

In the twenty-four states with no legislation concerning negotiation, the school boards face the choice of two equally appealing arguments: (a) unless the power to negotiate is granted by the legislature, the board can't negotiate; and (b) unless the power to negotiate is specifically barred by legislation, the board can negotiate. The underlying notions are (a) school boards, as creatures of the state, can exercise only those powers granted by the legislature; or (b) as the state agency (or quasi-agency) charged to operate and maintain the schools, boards can engage in any activity to that end not prohibited by the legislature.

The old rule from human experience that vacuums tend to be filled operates in this arena. Organized teachers confront boards with demands, and the boards, uncertain of the *legal* position, tend to take a *power* position. If the board perceives the power on its side, it may force the issue. Result: inflamed charge, countercharge, and escalated rhetoric ending in a teacher strike or something less drastic and less conclusive. If the power is perceived in the teachers, the board may engage in some kind of negotiating behavior in an effort to achieve settlement short of a strike. Except for temporary bankruptcy, no board to my knowledge has ordered schools closed to lock out the teachers and pupils.

Expanding Negotiation

Despite our best efforts to legislate solutions to human relations problems, teacher sick-ins, professional holidays, and strikes continue. Punitive legislation, such as New York's Taylor Law (which provides for fines and imprisonment for strikes) has not prevented teacher strikes. In fact, teacher strikes, unheard of prior to World War II, could turn out to be one of the most significant problems in the schools during the 1960's.

The strike-threat leverage influenced school finance, curriculum, and governance. As teachers organizations gain experience and sophistication in their collective bargaining, one can only expect the scope of negotiations to expand. In addition to the familiar issues of salary, teaching load, class size, and hours of duty, teachers and boards now negotiate such matters as quality of program, teaching methods, evaluation procedures, and other intangible, professionally ambiguous notions. Indirectly, the negotiations concern procedures and conditions of entry into the profession.

I am genuinely surprised that teachers organizations have waited so long to seek control of professional entry. The traditional demands for salary and *material* items are visible gains to teachers, but at the same time they are visible and powerful irritants to the taxpaying public. Each additional dollar squeezed out by pressure may build a counterforce of public resistance. In many communities, citizens regard teacher salary demands as additional erosion of their income and react accordingly. Control of entry into the profession (or as the organized medical profession used to call it, professional birth control) is much less visible and of less immediate concern to the public. No money is requested, no tax increase is needed, but control of the supply of teachers controls the destiny of the profession. Machiavellian as it is, the sacrifice of short-range financial gain by the organized teachers could produce long-term gains to the profession. Overproduction in any market, including teaching, reduces the bargaining power of the product. Provisions in recently negotiated contracts concerning teacher training bear on teacher education in general and the production of teachers in particular.

Negotiated Provisions for Student Teaching

A recent study by the NEA Research Division analyzed 2,605 negotiation agreements covering the classroom teacher units in school systems with one thousand or more pupils enrolled.[7] Of the 2,605 agreements negotiated for the 1968-69 school year, 978 were comprehensive in nature (comprehensive agreements, by NEA definition, are those containing at least one item which has been negotiated relative to teachers' wages, hours, or working conditions). The balance of the agreements were procedural in nature (i.e., agreed to steps and processes rather than substantive issues). Of the 978 comprehensive agreements, 110 contained one or more provisions concerning student teaching supervision.

The student teaching negotiated provisions deal with teacher consent (voluntary participation), pay, number of students per cooperating teacher, qualifications of cooperating teachers, in-service credit, responsibilities of cooperating teachers, miscellaneous policy matters, and combinations of these items. Verbatim examples of these provisions are as follows:

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[7] Data from this study were included in a working paper prepared for the Classroom Teachers National Study Conference on the "Role of the Classroom Teacher in the Student Teaching Program," November 28-29, 1969. These data were made available to the author by Donald P. Walker, NEA Research Division, whose generous assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

Teacher Consent

ARTICLE XV

6. Practice teachers shall be assigned only with the consent of the cooperating teacher.

Somerville Public Schools and Somerville Teachers' Association, Somerville, Massachusetts

ARTICLE XIV

E. As in the past, supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary.

Midland City School District and Midland City Education Association, Midland, Michigan

ARTICLE XXIV
STUDENT TEACHERS

A student teacher shall be assigned only by mutual consent of the building principal and the teacher involved.

South Redford School District and South Redford Education Association, Detroit, Michigan

ARTICLE XXIII
Professional Improvement

D. Teacher supervision of student teachers shall be strictly voluntary. At the same time, teachers recognize that active and willing participation in the training and development of qualified teachers is a basic professional responsibility.

Monroe Public Schools and Monroe City Education Association, Monroe, Michigan

Pay for Supervision

ARTICLE V
Compensation for Extra-Curricular Activities
Section E: Work with Student Teachers

A teacher's salary for working with a student teacher shall be recommended t the college which is responsible for the teacher training program. Consideration shall be $200.00 per semester. Payment shall be made *en toto* by the college or shared by the college and the town of Portsmouth and paid to the cooperating teacher upon completion of his work with the student teacher. Portsmouth's liability shall not exceed $100.00.

Portsmouth School District and Portsmouth Education Association, Portsmouth, Rhode Island

ARTICLE IV
PROFESSIONAL COMPENSATION

H. Supervisors of practice teachers shall receive $45.00 per student per semester.

Hillsdale Community Schools and Hillsdale Education Association, Hillsdale, Michigan

ARTICLE X
Supervising Teachers of Student Teachers

A. The Board agrees to pay the supervising teacher of student teachers the full fee given to the MCC school system by the participating college or university.

Mason County Central School District and Mason County Central Education Association, Scottsville, Michigan

Section 6.11 Salary Guides

A. Salary Schedule - Changes

6. Teachers with interns will receive a separate stipend depending on their load and summer workshop participation.

Unified School District, Beaver Dam Education Association, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin

ARTICLE XXII: PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT

B. Course vouchers are provided in lieu of compensation for the use of teachers who assume the added responsibility of supervising student teachers. They will be available to teachers who assume that responsibility. Teachers may request issuance of vouchers from the Office of the Superintendent. A list of unclaimed vouchers will be sent to the Association.

Cambridge School District and Cambridge Teachers Association, Cambridge, Massachusetts

(*Note:* The negotiated provisions for pay ranged from $25 to $200 per student teacher. Some provisions specified the time period (from eight weeks to one semester) for the supervision responsibility.)

Number of Student Teachers

ARTICLE XIX
Special Teaching Assignments

C. Supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary, and no teacher shall supervise more than one student teacher simultaneously.

Garden City School District and Garden City Education Association, Garden City, Michigan

ARTICLE XVII
Special Teaching Assignments

C. Supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary and no teacher shall supervise more than one such student teacher simultaneously.

Crestwood School District and Crestwood Education Association, Dearborn Heights, Michigan

C. Supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary and no teacher shall supervise more than one such student teacher simultaneously.

Berrien Springs Public Schools and Berrien Springs Education Association, Berrien Springs, Michigan

ARTICLE XI
STUDENT TEACHERS

A supervising teacher shall receive $100 for the supervision of each student teacher. This amount shall be paid in a lump sum in the final payment in June of that school year. The minimum period of supervision is that designated by the college. There shall be no restriction as to the total number of student teachers which a supervising teacher may accept and be paid for during his period of employment in the district.

Mohanasen Central School District and Mohonasen
Teachers Association, Schenectady, New York

Teacher Qualifications and In-service Credit

ARTICLE IX.
TEACHER ASSISTANCE TO PRACTICE TEACHERS

The Board of Education recognizes the professional responsibilities of teachers to assist practice teachers in developing into competent professionals. The Board also recognizes the fact that there is a certain degree of both personal enrichment and self-development in the master teacher in his work in assisting and guiding the professional growth of the neophyte. The Board also recognizes that teacher training institutions may have a responsibility for compensation and remuneration of those teachers who are supervising student teachers. This remuneration may come through college credit, free course offerings or through cash payment.

The Board, however, does not have control over this latter matter and, by way of encouraging professional growth and supervision of practice teachers, hereby establishes the following policy regarding in-service credit for sponsorship of student teachers.

1. An in-service credit course of one point, eight sessions, shall be established and held as needed for those teachers with a minimum of three years' teaching experience who desire to sponsor student teachers. This course shall consist of appropriate lectures and discussions which will aid the master teacher in his supervisory role with the student teacher. (This course shall be waived for those persons who have through the years sponsored student teachers in the City School District of New Rochelle.)

2. Upon completion of this course, a teacher shall notify the principal who will in turn notify the Assistant to the Superintendent for Personnel that this teacher is willing to accept a student teacher for a full semester of supervised student teaching experience.

3. As candidates for student teaching become available, they shall be assigned to the various schools on an equalized basis, and at the discretion of the principal, who shall consult with the department chairman and/or supervisor, such teacher shall be assigned a cooperating teacher who seems to be suited by personality, interest and grade level (or subject area) to the needs of the student teacher.

4. Each teacher supervising a student teacher for one semester shall receive one in-service education credit for this experience.

5. A maximum of three credits for student teaching supervision may be accredited to salary advancement at any given schedule level of the salary schedule.

None of the foregoing shall in any way limit or prohibit those teachers who voluntarily express a desire to accept a student teacher assignment. In those instances in-service credit shall be granted at the request of the teacher in the event that at some future date an adjustment or change in the salary schedules will permit application of these credits to salary advancement. The Board of Education further agrees to cooperate with the professional staff (should this be desired by the Federation) to encourage teacher training institutions to offer free course offerings, college credit or cash payments to those teachers supervising student teachers.

New Rochelle School District and New Rochelle Teachers Association (AFT), New Rochelle, New York

ARTICLE XIV
Miscellaneous Provisions

E. No teacher with less than three years of teaching experience with at least one in the local system shall be used as a supervising teacher.
  a. Qualified (as defined above) teachers shall be encouraged to participate in the student teaching program.
  b. All teachers participating in the program shall be encouraged to take the course *Supervision of Student Teaching* as offered by Michigan State University.
  c. A supervising teacher shall have one student teacher per year. Any deviation from this policy will be with mutual consent of the Board and the supervising teacher.
  d. No student teacher will be assigned to any supervising teacher without his prior consent and the consent of the building principal.
  e. No student teacher shall be used as a substitute for any teacher other than his supervising teacher.

St. Joseph School District and St. Joseph Education Association, St. Joseph, Michigan

ARTICLE VI
Teaching Loads and Assignments

D. The Board and the Association mutually recognize that the education of children of the Ypsilanti School District is their primary responsibility. The Board and the Association further recognize that they also have a responsibility to assist in the training of future teachers. The Board, therefore, agrees to the following practices as regards student or practice teachers:

1. The following procedures shall govern the placement of student teachers
  a. No teacher shall be assigned a student teacher against his wishes.
  b. Probationary teachers may not be used as critic or supervisory teachers.
  c. Critic or supervising teachers shall have the right to recommend to the principal the rejection at any time of any assigned student teacher with whom they feel they cannot work effectively.

d. No critic teacher may be assigned more than one student teacher for a given time period in academic classes.
e. Critic teachers will receive the current rate of compensation paid by the universities and their monies may not be diverted into special funds.
f. The Board further recognizes its responsibility to negotiate with the universities concerned for a more realistic compensation for the critic teachers.

Ypsilanti School District and Ypsilanti Education Association, Ypsilanti, Michigan

STUDENT TEACHERS
The cooperating teacher must be a certified tenure teacher recommended by his Building Principal.

Avondale School District and Avondale Education Association, Auburn Heights, Michigan

In-service Credit

VI. CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT (continued)
8. Student Teacher Assignments
Two points of in-service credit will be granted to the cooperating teacher for supervising a practice teacher. When two cooperating teachers are assigned to a practice teacher, the two credits will be divided. No more than two teachers shall be assigned to a practice teacher. No credit will be given to a teacher who is merely observed by a practice teacher.

In the event a college or university offers a tuition free course, where there are two cooperating teachers involved, the teacher with the greater load shall be entitled to the course.

The in-service credit will be granted when the practice teacher has completed the entire assigned training period and evaluation report or reports have been submitted to the Assistant Superintendent of the division through the building principal.

Yonkers School District and Yonkers Federation of Teachers (AFT), Yonkers, New York

Responsibilities of Cooperating Teachers and Miscellaneous Policies

ARTICLE XVII
Supervising Teacher–Student Teacher
A. The Menominee City District Association offers its full support of the Student Teaching Program and will attempt, upon request from the proper official, to aid in implementation or in finding solutions to any unanticipated problems connected with this program.
B. Policies established by Northern Michigan University, unless they are in conflict with terms of the Master Agreement between the Board and the Association, or Board policy, shall be followed in the implementation of the Student Teaching Program.

C. It is recommended that the coordinator of the student teaching program immediately implement the specific responsibility listed as number one, page two, contained in the statement of responsibilities of student teaching personnel to insure a more successful implementation of the program in Menominee Area Public Schools.

D. If there should be a conflict of personalities between supervising teacher and student teacher, the supervising teacher, through the superintendent, may recommend to Northern Michigan University that the student teacher be transferred. Such a recommendation through the superintendent shall in no way be used in adverse evaluation of the supervising teacher as a classroom teacher.

E. Declining either a request or recommendation to the position of supervisory teacher will not result in adverse evaluation of said teacher.

F. It is recommended that each student teacher carry an adequate amount of liability insurance.

G. The supervising teacher shall be paid, in addition to his or her contractual salary, the sum of $75.00 per student teacher under his or her supervision for each eight-week period.

Menominee Area Public Schools and Menominee City
District of Michigan Education Association,
Menominee, Michigan

ARTICLE VII
TEACHING LOADS AND ASSIGNMENTS

G. The parties recognize that students are entitled to be taught by fully qualified teachers while at the same time recognizing a professional responsibility to assist in the preparation of student teachers. Therefore, supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary. No teacher shall serve as a supervising teacher more than one-half his total teaching time each year. Should the college or university provide funds for this service, such funds shall be regarded as an honorarium and shall be distributed to those teachers involved with a particular student on a prorated share according to the time for which the supervising teachers were responsible.

Southfield School District and Southfield Education
Association, Southfield, Michigan

ARTICLE XVIII
Student Teachers

A. The Escanaba School District Association offers its full support of the Student Teaching Program and will attempt, upon request from the proper official, to aid in implementation or in finding solutions to any unanticipated problems connected with this program.

B. Policies established by Northern Michigan University, unless they are in conflict with terms of the Master Agreement between the Board and the Association, or Board policy shall be followed in the implementation of the Student Teaching Program.

C. Declining either a request or recommendation to the position of supervisory teacher will not result in adverse evaluation of said teacher.

D. The student teacher may not be used as a substitute teacher.

E. It is recommended that each student teacher carry an adequate amount of liability insurance.

F. The supervising teacher shall be paid, in addition to his or her contractual salary, the sum of $75 per student teacher under his or her supervision for each eight-week period.

Escanaba Area Public Schools and Escanaba District Education Association, Escanaba, Michigan

The Student Teaching Program

ARTICLE XV

Qualification and Assignments

F. Supervision by a teacher of a student teacher shall be voluntary and no teacher shall supervise more than one such student teacher simultaneously. Payment received from colleges or universities for the training of student teachers shall be credited to the department at secondary level, or classroom at elementary level, in which the training took place. This amount may be used for the purchase of teaching aids or supplies.

Carmen School District and Carmen Education Association, Flint, Michigan

ARTICLE XIX

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

I. Student teachers shall be assigned to experienced teachers only and may on special occasions be used as a substitute in the critic teacher's classroom if the critic teacher concurs that such experience would be beneficial. Assignment of student teachers shall normally be to a tenure teacher. In rare circumstances they may be assigned to non-tenure teachers but only if the Association has been informed of the circumstances.

Waterford Township School District and Waterford Education Association, Pontiac, Michigan

PART II: ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

Teacher Consent

The provisions concerning teacher consent to student teaching supervision emphasize the voluntary nature of the assignment. One is struck by the apparent necessity for teachers to specifically bar coercion, a condition which should be clearly understood among professionals. One reason for such an explicit contract provision might be the disturbing practice of student teaching directors dealing with administrators for the services of teachers, a system not unlike the prison labor contracts. One provision (South Redford School District, Detroit, Michigan) ties student teaching supervision to the joint consent by the principal and the teacher. This makes considerable sense in light of the complex responsibilities of the task. The principal's acceptance and cooperation are essential to good clinical training; without it, the student teacher's experience is limited to the cooperating teacher's classroom. The realization that student teachers need to use the *total* school, rather than a single classroom, for laboratory experience is a big step forward in teacher education. Teachers in the Menominee, Michigan, schools saw fit to negotiate protection from retaliation in the event of their declining to supervise student teachers.

The provisions for teacher consent to supervisory roles are protective in nature. The fact that such provisions are included says something about their perceptions of existing procedures. The next step after defining the condition of their acceptance is to negotiate the nature of the role. If colleges sit on their traditions, the organized teachers may define their supervision responsibilities and privileges. The law of supply and demand clearly favors the teachers and schools. Colleges need the clinical facilities in schools more than schools need student teachers. Under present state laws debasing the professional values of precertificated teachers, altruism is about the only motive prompting schools to accept student teachers. It need not be this way, and wise educators will press for change in both restrictive laws and nonproductive campus training.

Pay for Supervision

The details vary somewhat, but the provisions concerning pay for cooperating teachers are generally consistent. Although the teacher's voluntary undertaking of a supervision role is undoubtedly essential to rational teacher training, the provision reflects the basic school posture toward student teaching: student teachers are guests, and guests wait to be invited. This host-guest relationship delays the development of any partnership relation between schools and teacher-training institutions. It also reflects the barriers to genuine sharing of responsibility and accountability for teacher education.

Colleges and universities send student teachers out to schools, place the burden of field work on the teachers, but rarely, if ever, ask the school people to share in planning the pre-student teaching program. To compound the professional felony, assessment, evaluation, and grading are held tightly by most sending colleges. The college supervisor visits (the term *visit* is typically more honest than *inspect*, *assess*, or *evaluate*) the student teacher several times, may or may not talk with the cooperating teachers, and may or may not solicit the teachers' professional judgment about the student teacher's performance.

There seem to be two rationales for this unhappy pattern: (a) the college supervisor is better equipped to assess the student's professional growth than is the school staff, and (b) the cooperating teacher is either unprepared or unwilling to assume an assessment-evaluation responsibility. Although the rationales may be defensible in some cases, they smack of the worst kind of professional chauvinism. If rationale (a) is correct, I would ask for the bases on which it rests. Few college supervisors carry continuing teaching responsibilities in the schools; their perceptions of professional growth or behavior patterns in student teachers generally rest on memories (however fresh or faded) of their own teaching. To assume superior understanding and perception in the college supervisor begs the question. If rationale (b) is correct, the student teacher is misassigned. The *sine qua non* of effective field supervision is the ability to teach and the parallel ability to help others learn to teach. To argue that cooperating teachers are not qualified to judge teaching performance is an eloquent indictment of the student teacher's placement.

The colleges should not be surprised by the emerging demands for supervisory pay. Under most teacher education programs, the student teacher's tuition (not an insignificant amount these days) goes to the college and the professional responsibility goes to the cooperating school. Most of us agree that the clinical experiences are quite important in the undergraduate program. In our more pious moments, many of us proclaim their *crucial*, even *vital*, importance; somehow we fail, however, to use the student's tuition money to improve the clinical training. We cloud the issue with transparent rhetoric about college credits, grade-giving, accountability, and other diverting gabble. And with a beauty born of long practice, we raise genteel alarm when schools demand payment for services rendered.

So long as the clinical training of teachers takes place in host-guest settings, the institutional walls will separate campus and field cooperation. The campus work will continue to be viewed by students as Mickey Mouse or "theory" and will bear little, if any, resemblance to their experience in the clinical assignment. Under this kind of operational dichotomy, one can scarcely fault the teachers for demanding pay. The negotiated demands for supervision pay apparently reflect the teachers' feeling that their services are bought and sold rather than any feeling of partnership in a professional responsibility. Most exploited people feel this way.

Number of Student Teachers

Several contracts provide that a teacher shall not supervise more than one student teacher simultaneously. In my judgment, this provision is an unfortunate and unnecessary barrier to teacher education. Implicit in this provision is the notion that students learn clinical skills by sitting at the feet of the master. Further, the provision, nothing more than legislated folklore, locks in the debatable belief that a one student-one teacher setting is better than some other organization. The pressure of the numbers game forces placement of student teachers in less-than-adequate clinical settings. Supervision skills are not held by every classroom teacher. Just as teachers learn to teach, supervisors learn to supervise. Teacher education suffers from an insane (correctable, but insane) vicious circle: students are placed with unskilled cooperating teachers, colleges withhold from these teachers the indicia of professional status and trust, and sour teachers turn out misguided student teachers who carry into their initial teaching jobs the bad taste of the whole process.

The circle can be broken but not by institutionalizing the one-to-one student-teacher ratio. By developing alternative models for student teaching supervision, the supervision can be assigned to those teachers trained for and capable of first-rate work. The supervisory teachers could be trained for the job, and the status and rewards could make the role desirable. We don't ask administrators to undertake the demanding tasks for their health or for the good of the nation; we set some high standards of training and performance and pay to get them. The same approach could work in upgrading student teacher supervision.

The TTT Project supported by the U.S. Office of Education under the Education Professions Development Act takes this task (of improving supervision skills in trainers of teachers) as its major objective.[8] As teacher education programs expand their clinical base, the school will need more and better-trained supervisors. These teachers, specially prepared and committed to teacher education, are the school-based trainers of teachers. The teacher trainers work with teachers at all levels of preparation and experience in the district (or region). Their expertise as practitioners and teacher trainers carries status in the schools and respect from their campus-based colleagues. The teacher trainer role is a reality in a growing number of school districts. The prospects are excellent for change in student teaching from a campus-based, controlled, and evaluated exercise to field-based professional development. The negotiated limitation of one student teacher per supervisor delays the reform of clinical practice and clinical staffing.

Teacher Qualifications and In-service Credit

The contract provisions concerning qualifications of classroom supervisors generally focus on experienced, tenure teachers. Probationary (nontenure) teachers are excluded from consideration as teacher-supervisors. From the limited data available in the negotiated contracts, one can draw only tentative inferences. The notion that X years of experience or "tenure" are prerequisite to supervision and teacher-training roles is common in the profession. From school folklore (and a measure of reality, perhaps) the image of the new teacher emerges clearly as a quiescent, emulating, interested-but-not-involved novice. The institutional socialization of new teachers forecloses their effective participation in the big decisions in schools. Under this system, the status, autonomy, and professional leverage of the critic teacher role is inconsistent with the in-house role mandated for new teachers in a school. The leadership role of student teacher supervisors is likewise inconsistent with our followership expectations for new teachers.

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[8] For a brief description of the TTT Project, see: Olson, Paul A. "Training the Teachers of Teachers." *American Education* 5:13-14; February 1969.

The related assumption that new teachers typically must devote full time to their teaching and orientation to their new role and work setting is perhaps more defensible. There is ample evidence that each school seems to develop a peculiar climate and that inexperienced or new teachers must adjust to it. Whether such adjustment period excludes the possibility or desirability of new teachers taking on supervisory responsibilities is another question. John Readling and his associates at the State University of New York College at Oswego developed a scheme to use beginning and experienced teachers in a team to supervise student teaching.[9] The plan was field-tested in selected schools in Schenectady in 1965-66 and expanded to other schools in 1966-67. Their experience indicated that new teachers were constitutionally able to supervise student teachers.

The teachers' demands for promotion credit for university training in supervision are, in my judgment, logical and overdue. The supervision skills required of them clearly benefit the school operation and deserve the recognition and support demanded of both the boards and the university. The reasons for limiting the promotion credit for supervisory roles are less clear. Perhaps the teachers (or boards) feel that supervision skills are finite and, once acquired, deserve no further professional reward. Another view might limit the professional value of student teacher supervision. Neither explanation is terribly satisfying, particularly if clinical practice is fully understood as the capstone of extended, rigorous professional training. By any standards, most student teaching is far less than it could be or should be. It hardly makes sense, however, to stunt its development by the systematic discounting of professional practice in the clinical phase. The fact that professional recognition for supervision must be negotiated by teachers does little credit to either the schools or the professional training programs.

Responsibilities of Cooperating Teachers

The significance of the 110 negotiated agreements may lie in their pioneering effort to define contractually school responsibilities in teacher education. The "era of good feeling" between schools and colleges may be past; the negotiations may reflect the more responsible role demanded by teachers. Negotiating the teacher role carries some risks. The supervision responsibilities are too important to be left to unilateral definition. When colleges alone prescribe clinical behavior, student teachers lose; the same loss will occur when schools do it.

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[9] Inquiries about this plan may be made to the Director, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, State University College, Oswego, New York.

Joint, rather than unilateral, efforts of schools and colleges make more sense in light of their mutually vested interests in producing able teachers. Many teachers are gun-shy of rhetoric about "joint planning, cooperative university-school effort, etc.," and with good reason. Any honest observer knows the pecking order in the education profession, and teachers are pecked by professors. The negotiated agreements indicate the teachers' weariness with such nonsense and their refusal to play second fiddle to the university.

Some districts flatly prohibit student teachers from serving as substitute teachers and a few permit it under limited conditions. Other than job protection for regularly certificated teachers, the rationale for this ban is not clear. Professional mythology indicates that preservice teachers are professionally worthless on June 5, and on June 6 (after the B.A. degree anointment) are worth $8,000 per year as new teachers. Somehow this doesn't make any sense. Upper-class students in teacher training surely must have skills useful to pupils, teachers, and schools. As they progress through the final phases of professional preparation, logic insists that student teachers know more than we typically allow them to practice.

To close the door on exploitation of student teachers is laudable; to close out prospective teachers from useful professional experience (which teaching ought to be) isn't. If the laws now bar able young precertificated teachers from teaching and obstruct professional programs, then let them be changed. The negotiated ban on student teachers' substituting constitutes a serious barrier to the development of rational clinical experiences.

PART III: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Negotiated provisions in teacher-board contracts concerning student teaching constitute a serious problem for teacher education. They can be a blessing or a curse, depending on their direction and nurture. From one view, the negotiated provisions are restrictive, introverted expressions of a power grab by organized teachers. From this view, the negotiations constitute a serious threat to teacher education programs across the country. Another view, however, might be taken of these contract developments. The organized teachers have served notice on colleges and universities that they intend to take a responsible role in teacher training. The time has passed when schools and teachers served as passive receptacles for student teachers. Through negotiated contracts with school boards, teachers are saying, "We have a legitimate partnership role in professional training and we insist on taking part in decisions affecting new teachers, the schools, and our own careers." This latter view, in my judgment, is realistic and offers the profession some badly needed inputs.

Dimensions of the School's Role in Professional Training

Teacher-training programs need all the help they can get. Imaginative ideas, programs, and people are perennially short crops, and to close out the practicing teacher from active participation in teacher education has been a historical tragedy. Teacher education has not been receptive to change. The forces for reform generally have come from outside the profession (e.g., professional critics, other professions, federal funds, specific community demands). The colleges and universities responsible for teacher production have generated precious little change in teacher education. The emergent demands by teachers to undertake responsible roles must be heard.

As noted above, schools and teachers are positive resources for teacher training. The schools constitute the most realistic and most accessible laboratory for the clinical preparation of teachers. This resource *has not been tapped* in the past. Schools have housed student teachers but have had little opportunity to shape their professional training. Teachers in classrooms represent the single most influential force in shaping new teachers' professional behavior. The socialization of preservice and pretenure teachers turns on the classroom teacher's performance as supervisor, model, shaper, and molder of younger teachers. Some teachers are prepared for this responsibility; most are not. The fault lies, dear Brutus, not in the stars but in ourselves. Teacher education people and programs have long assumed that teachers are not capable (or willing) in professional training roles, and in our infinite prophetic wisdom, our programs make it so. The demands negotiated in teacher-board contracts across the country challenge both the assumptions and the programs.

New Demands in Teacher Education

The handwriting seems clear: teachers sense the importance of schools and themselves in clinical training and have begun to spell out the conditions under which they will function. Clairvoyance is risky business, but some demands are clear:

1. *Teacher education is the responsibility of the total profession, not just the colleges and universities.* The schism between colleges and schools may be explained historically but makes no sense at all in either functional or professional terms. Teacher-training programs rarely question the basic assumption that college professors know more about school teaching and school management than those who do it. This unchallenged assumption led, quite logically, to the hierarchical pecking order among teachers and professors. In order of academic clout (and status), the graduate professors are first, followed by undergraduate professors, junior college instructors, high school teachers, and

grammar school teachers. Administrators float in and out at various points, depending, it seems, on their title and school.

The relegation of practitioners' skills to a tradesman level resulted in the ascendant value on "theory" or, at least, campus-based study. With professionalism centered on campus, there is little wonder that teacher preparation moved farther from the real world. By the mid-twentieth century, public criticism of professional teacher training forced many educators to rethink the question of how, where, and by whom teachers should be trained. By logic and function, schools and teachers should be full partners in the training of teachers. The negotiated contracts discussed above simply restate this obvious proposition.

2. *The professional education sequence must include early and sustained clinical assignments.* Students in most teacher education programs have little or no direct exposure to teaching and pupils until they pass the point of no return in career planning. We bar their early acquaintance with teaching for a variety of reasons, all more or less transparent put-offs. We've all heard the reasons: "Liberal education must *precede* teacher education," "Students *need* X number of methods courses before they teach children," "We must protect the pupils from inept student teachers" (pity we are so reluctant to extend this caveat to our certificated colleagues), "The state requirements *prohibit* students from any substantive role prior to student teaching," and on and on. These barriers, built into most teacher education programs, are not based in research. They constitute the first line of defense for traditional, entrenched, vested interests in the college. To any of these statements of defense, we should ask: Why? Why can't freshmen or sophomores exploit their interest in teaching by action? Why must methods courses come before the students have participation roles in classrooms? What evidence supports the dark hint that prospective teachers would irreparably damage pupils by teaching prior to the final year in the program? The reasons for most of our sequence in teacher preparation are closer to professorial convenience and administrative symmetry than to professional necessity.

3. *The clinical-training component must grow out of the academic disciplines studied and to be taught.* There is, or at least there ought to be, some discernible relation between the study and the teaching of English literature, for example. To assign the study to a professor of English and the teaching to a professor of education is to invite irrelevance at both ends. The college folklore, however, insists that professors of disciplines must steer clear of anything resembling professional education. There seems to be a taint connected with teaching practice, and those academicians who show interest in teacher training find themselves outside the pale in their departments. The nature, extent, and details of clinical training are the joint responsibilities of colleges and schools.

College faculty can contribute to the total program, but they are ill-equipped to design, assess, and evaluate the clinical component. Schools and teachers are well qualified to take the major responsibility for clinical work. For good or bad, schools are where the action, the problems, and the real world of teaching can be found. The clinical practice takes place there (either directly or vicariously); the control and governance must reside there. The needed reform in teacher education must include honest, logical linkages between schools and teacher-training institutions. Jointly appointed faculties, shared planning, management, and financing are some obvious links. State and federal funds can be tied to such joint effort. A requirement, for example, that funds for teacher training or for public school aid be granted only upon evidence of school-college cooperation could be a powerful stimulant to both institutions. Guidelines for TTT projects already require this kind of linkage, and federal funds are granted only to those colleges or schools which demonstrate genuine joint planning. One thing seems certain: when and if the teaching profession *wants* joint planning, it will happen. There are no serious obstacles to it other than our time-honored, collective reluctance.

4. *Through negotiated contracts with boards, teachers and schools will take more responsible roles in teacher education.* The negotiated provisions reviewed above are representative of surfaced concerns of teachers in the preparation of teachers. The moderate demands will escalate into genuine barriers if the overdue reforms in teacher training do not come about. These demands will trigger three kinds of responses in teacher-training institutions: (a) shared responsibility based on genuine partnerships with schools and community factions; or (b) protective strategies aimed at developing viable alternatives to students' clinical work in schools; or (c) radically new schemes which link colleges, schools, and various technologies in a unified program.

The laboratory facilities and practitioner expertise available in schools are not unlimited. Already many student teachers are assigned to less-than-desirable clinical settings. Students take on clinical assignments hundreds of miles from campus because local schools cannot handle the increased numbers of student teachers. The persistence of one-to-one clinical assignments delays experimentation with alternative schemes. A trained cooperating teacher can effectively supervise the clinical practice of several student teachers at a given time. If team teaching works in the schools, why can't we use the concept for training purposes?

Technology can bring schools to campus; each student need not go into a classroom to experience children in school. Video tapes, film loops, tapes, and other devices can be used to overcome the near-invasion of student observers and teachers in some cooperating schools. Microteaching may develop instructional skills just as well as the less efficient "I teach, you watch, you teach, I watch" arrangement now so prevalent in clinical training. The negotiated demands by teachers might be the stimulus needed to jar teacher education into the twentieth century.

5. *Student teaching, as we know it, will merge into a broader clinical-training component.* The negotiated demands by teachers for more control over student teaching will force some changes. The proper division of responsibilities between schools and colleges in the total training process will evolve through conflict and its resolution. The rationale for segmented, one-shot student teaching bears little relation to the way children learn, teachers teach, or schools operate. The system of student teaching for a fixed time (rather than for skill development) mocks the fundamental claim that people learn at different rates of speed. Under present practice, all students take about the same courses, in the same sequence, and practice teach for a standard length of time. This conformity fails to recognize students' previous experience or level of teaching competence achieved *prior* to the formal student teaching. Pressures mount to open a variety of teaching opportunities to students and to assess teaching skills on the basis of performance rather than the passage of time. Schools can use the assistance of prospective teachers. Children can benefit from the enthusiastic, able contributions of preservice teachers. Clinical assignments can vary from one-to-one tutoring to total responsibility for planning, teaching, and assessing classroom work. Methods courses will grow out of experience rather than be presented as secondhand dogma. Analyses and hypotheses will become the modus vivendi to replace Magic Marker underlinings and warmed-over lesson plans. Teaching strategies derived from classroom or simulated experience will replace the didactic methods course approach. Classroom teachers will supervise, assess, and evaluate the clinical development of prospective teachers and will be regarded as professional colleagues by professors. The professional training of teachers has been long regarded as a put-on with conspiratorial overtones; we are about to reform student teaching into an exciting, logical outgrowth of the teaching process. As the culminating experience for alleged professional training, is that too much to ask?

Charge to Participants

Eddie Ort

We have heard four strong doses of criticism. We have been given ample evidence of concern and frustration. There were perhaps even ominous warnings of the possible consequences of our failure to comprehend and to act decisively for modifications in the professional context. I believe that our speakers have probably provoked your attention – perhaps your anxiety – perhaps even some disagreement. I hope you heard not only the criticisms hurled at our present practices and objectives but also the hope, the desire to see us elevate our aspirations and achieve a more vital educational process. I hope you heard, as I did, the suggestion, "It can be done."

May I suggest that we refrain from excessive searching for flaws and oversights. Let us look instead to the efforts that have been made to focus our thinking on the task of finding ways to effect practical solutions to the problems that have been cited for us.

We cannot possibly discuss in detail the many specific items our speakers have so ably brought to our attention. May I suggest instead that each of us deliberately review individually as well as together what we have heard so far this morning. Test your memory. Test your comprehension. Perhaps we should check our biases. Otherwise, in our discussions we may begin to meander away from our central task – that of putting together concrete recommendations in each of the four topics. All of us must deal with our own perceptions and attitudes that influence our thinking and our behaving within the context of the problem areas discussed. Each of us must strive to push aside for awhile his ready, singular solutions.

Paramount among the expressed points of view is the reminder that a different product is needed in teacher education: a person who is more effectively equipped to deal with the changing professional context in which he works. It seems to me that there is also an obvious assumption: to effect changes as have been described, we have to develop people with skills, competence, abilities, and attitudes more commensurate with the nature of the conditions that are crying out for change.

Another common thread can be identified: a strong emphasis on the *human* component. How can teacher education programs be designed to produce or to modify that human component? Have we really been able to describe with assurance what attributes we should attempt to foster?

One thing could easily be overlooked. We who implement programs to change people – to enhance the human elements – may very well face the most difficult of all tasks: changing some of our own skills, competence, abilities, and attitudes. We may even be called upon to modify our own behavioral patterns! That *is* asking a lot, isn't it?

In very specific terms, we heard analyses of the children and youth who are the real heart of our efforts, the real purpose of our existence. If we accept the fact that genuine knowledge of and concern for our children and youth are of paramount importance, how do we treat a very different problem, that is, stringent, highly specific "rules" and bargains that are only indirectly concerned with their welfare? Do we ever create a dilemma in which the welfare of children and the welfare of teachers could be in conflict?

The emphasis on improving human relations calls to our attention the plea for empathy, for recognition of the self-concept, for real respect and concern for both teachers and children. But it seems obvious that we shall have to discuss today the means by which we can more effectively develop a person who is himself more skilled in helping to improve human relations. We are asking a lot of our new teachers. Can we ask less of ourselves?

You must surely have heard today some threats to our own security as teacher educators. It is not unrealistic to believe that some of you may even suggest in your discussions that we, the university, get out of the business of teacher education. Just how vulnerable are we to a suggestion of that type if it were to be made? Is that an answer? There were implications that the universities may get left behind in a surge of activity, initiative, and know-how on the part of people who are not currently *in* the college structure. Just how realistic and valid is that implication?

This audience is not without visible evidence in your own work of genuine and encouraging efforts now under way to effect some of the recommendations our speakers have presented to us. Some of you have already made significant strides. Help us to think through our current problems.

We seem to have heard that our new teachers are going to want and need a greater hand in a whole host of professional activities. Maybe we preached that for so long that somebody finally believed it. Now what are we going to do?

Where do we stand? In which areas have we been making genuine efforts to improve and in which areas have we been satisfied with merely token efforts – the surface trappings that ease our anxieties, that encourage us to think, "That's no longer a problem."

We find it too easy to suggest *doing more* in teacher education – teaching, developing more specific competence in designated areas. Does this mean just adding another specialized course? How far can we go in merely adding or subtracting courses? Surely we can be more willing to incorporate some of the more promising efforts to restructure our curricula for teacher education.

Some of the suggestions we heard may have been left hanging in the air. The difficult task still lies ahead: how we can effectively *implement* some of the recommendations made today. The *objectives* are clear: *What* must we do and *how* do we go about it? We cannot overlook the fact that our literature and even our stated objectives have sought some of the very changes advocated here today. Some of us need to take these words off the shelf and find out what they really mean in application – plug them into the mainstream of teacher education.

We are concerned that each of us moves through the day with a continued and deliberate discussion of the professional context and the implications for teacher education. Let us use well the guidance we have already received this morning and the opportunity to respond to the challenges that face us.

THE FEDERAL CONTEXT

The Federal Role in Teacher Education[*]

James E. Allen, Jr.

Back in 1963, James B. Conant published a book that was a best seller in education circles, It was *The Education of American Teachers* (McGraw-Hill, 1963). Except for a fleeting reference to the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and National Science Foundation institutes, there was no mention of the federal government's role in the preparation of teachers. This was not an omission on Dr. Conant's part. At that time, somewhat paradoxically, the U.S. Office of Education had little authority to support programs for the training and retraining of elementary and secondary school teachers.

Despite millions of dollars available annually under the NDEA, only two programs, with relatively small appropriations, were concerned with the needs of teachers in the schools. One provided for institutes for advanced study in the field of counseling and guidance, with emphasis on the preparation of counselors to identify talented students with college potential. The other provided for institutes to prepare teachers of modern foreign languages. Both were considered necessary at that time for the national defense.

Today it would be impossible for Dr. Conant or anyone else to discuss teacher education without devoting considerable space to both the function and character of federal programs.

In its endeavors to find more efficient ways to deliver all educational services at all levels, the federal government has become increasingly concerned with the quality of teaching. Given the enormity of our school problems – especially the fact that large numbers of children are not learning to read and are not acquiring other tools basic to productive living – it is essential that we find ways to make teachers and all educational personnel more effective. We have come to recognize that no educational endeavors, whether they be new schools or colleges or generously financed new curriculum developments, can bring about change without people prepared to effect that change.

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[*] Address presented before the combined banquet session of the Association for Student Teaching and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, February 26,1970.

Today the Office of Education has some thirty programs which deal either wholly or in part with the training of educational personnel. These include diverse efforts ranging from the training component in Follow Through under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to Seminars Abroad – opportunities for teachers to study the cultures of certain overseas areas, administered under the Fulbright-Hays Act.

But the bulk of the activity designed to develop new approaches and explore new concepts in the preparation of educational personnel is concentrated in programs mounted under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA). This was the intent of the Congress, and fortunately the legislation gives the Commissioner of Education ample elbow room to establish priorities and shift or realign them as needs change. I would like to mention the new priorities and what prompted them.

Previous EPDA programs – those inherited from earlier legislation – had little concern for the target population of children to be served by the personnel being trained. Our new priorities put children of greatest need first. Hence, the programs have a very heavy but not exclusive emphasis on the preparation of personnel to work more effectively with disadvantaged and handicapped children. Our goal is to eliminate race, family-income, and physical and mental handicaps as impediments to equal educational opportunity.

The reason for such a heavy emphasis on developing personnel to work in low-income areas is obvious. We know that our school system has been productive for the majority of our population, but we are increasingly concerned about the substantial number of young people it is failing.

Of all of the failures of our educational system, none is more indefensible, it seems to me, than the failure to teach every child to read. In our society, the child or adult who cannot read is a cripple. Yet 15 million school children in America cannot read well enough to make full progress in school; one child out of twenty cannot advance to the next grade; 25 million job-holders may be denied advancement by reading weakness; 8 million adults are functional illiterates. We can no longer tolerate this shameful situation.

It is inexcusable that in this day, when man has achieved such giant steps in the development of his potential, when many of his accomplishments approach the miraculous, there still should be those who cannot read.

Believing that there is no higher national priority in the field of education than the provision of the Right to Read for all, I have proclaimed my belief that we should immediately set for ourselves the goal of assuring by the end of the 1970's that the Right to Read shall be a reality for all – that no one shall be leaving our schools without the skill and the desire necessary to read to the full limits of his capability.

To begin the nationwide effort to achieve this goal, the President is expected to appoint soon a National Reading Council, headed by a board of trustees drawn from many segments of our society. I wish to emphasize that the national Right to Read effort is not primarily a federal effort. It does not in any way remove authority or responsibility for education from the states. It is an effort to persuade the public that there is a national reading problem, to determine the changes required to accomplish the goal, to encourage those who would change to do so, to identify resources that can be brought to bear on the problem, and to make additional resources available.

The central factor in all efforts to achieve this goal is the teacher – and the primary agents for assuring that the teacher can meet the challenge are those who prepare the teachers. That means you.

I call upon the member institutions of AACTE to join with me in this nationwide effort to guarantee each child his Right to Read. We know that the so-called reading handicap of many children results not from any difficulty on the part of the child but in many instances from the incompetence of many of our elementary school teachers. It was my experience in New York State that programs preparing elementary teachers give inadequate attention to providing beginning teachers with the background necessary to teach reading well, particularly to youngsters who are handicapped or disadvantaged.

I challenge your institutions to provide specific training now so that you can guarantee that every one of your graduates who enters elementary school teaching has the demonstrated skill to teach all kinds of children to read.

I don't suggest that the answer to this problem lies in another three-credit course or another six weeks of student teaching. I *do* suggest that you, as teacher educators, be specifically responsible for developing in teacher candidates the competence and skills necessary for teaching reading. Each candidate should be able to use with confidence at least one well-developed and well-tested reading method, and each candidate should be able to diagnose reading difficulties of individual children, prescribe treatment, and assess achievement.

Until teachers of reading develop a whole new understanding of the reading process, until the teachers recognize that reading is a part of overall language development, until the problem receives interdisciplinary attention, and until teacher-training institutions attach an urgency to the problem, we will not be in a position to guarantee each child the Right to Read to which he is entitled.

Fundamental to achieving this goal is the effort to prepare educational personnel realistically – to integrate college preparation with present-day requirements of the schools. We are seriously encouraging partnership arrangements among colleges and universities, state and local school systems, and the communities to be served by the personnel being trained. This means a move away from short-term, exclusively college-based projects to an emphasis on long-term projects which require cooperative efforts by both the producers and the consumers of educational personnel.

The Teacher Corps pioneered in this approach and continues to prove its effectiveness. The new Career Opportunities Program, now being launched in 130 school systems throughout the country, is another step in this direction. It is basically a work-study program that brings bright, sensitive, and concerned people from low-income areas into the schools as aides or technicians and permits them to climb a career ladder to more responsible and more remunerative positions.

In this type of program, the partnership arrangement is much in evidence. The school system provides training opportunities, the colleges and universities are responsible for additional training and academic preparation, state departments of education are involved by virtue of their credentialing services, and the community is obligated to provide likely candidates.

I think it is significant that all recipients of the Distinguished Achievement Awards presented this evening have departed from traditional training practices and have developed outstanding teacher education programs through a multi-institutional approach. In some cases with federal support and in some cases without it, the award winners have all taken the initiative in reaching out for educational experiences that take the prospective teacher beyond the campus and expose him to the resources and personnel of a variety of other institutions. To me this is a most encouraging sign.

I have outlined the goals we are working toward as we seek to renew and refurbish and revitalize the preparation of educational personnel. Now I would like to tell you how we plan to target our resources. Generally speaking, three types of programs will receive top priority:

1. Programs for training personnel in fields of critical shortages, such as early childhood education, vocational-technical education, special education, bilingual education, media, school administration, and education in correctional institutions.

2. Programs to train personnel to meet critical educational needs. These include a program designed to aid black teachers in the South, particularly those threatened with displacement through desegregation. An Urban Rural Program will assist experienced teachers in urban and rural poverty area schools in raising the level of pupil achievement.

3. Programs to bring new kinds of people into the schools and to demonstrate, through training, new and more effective means of utilizing educational personnel and delivering educational services. These include five programs – the Career Opportunities Program which I described earlier, the Teacher Corps, programs for Training the Teachers of Teachers (TTT), programs on School Personnel Utilization to explore a variety of differentiated staffing patterns, and the State Grants Program for meeting immediate critical shortages of teachers and aides.

Another encouraging aspect of this movement toward joint responsibility and orderly patterns for cooperation is that it also suggests a movement toward a unified strategy and eventually a more efficient distribution of educational resources.

One of our basic failures in education in this country is that we have busied ourselves designing individual beads but have never seriously searched for a way to string them together. We in the Office of Education are formulating a systematic plan for linking the processes of educational research, development, demonstration, evaluation, and dissemination so that the best of what is designed can be put to practical use and made readily available to those who control, manage, and teach in our educational institutions.

To accomplish this end, the Office of Education has been restructured to provide for more effective leadership in research, planning, and evaluation. Since last summer we have pulled together our activities in these areas and placed them under the direction of a newly appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary/Commissioner for Planning, Research, and Evaluation.

But this is not enough. The answers to our enormous problems of education will require far more dependable knowledge than we now have about how children learn, about how teachers teach, and about what education is—far more than can be expected from the present relatively meager, fragmented, haphazard efforts we make to obtain such knowledge. After all, effective educational reform and renewal can hardly be expected in an educational enterprise that devotes less than one-half of one percent of its annual budget to research and development.

It is time for this shortsighted policy to be corrected, and President Nixon will take the initial step next week by urging that the Congress create a National Institute of Education whose purpose will be to undertake the serious, systematic search for new knowledge needed to make equal educational opportunity a reality in our country.

This new agency, to be located within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the Assistant Secretary for Education, will be manned by a staff of outstanding scholars from such disciplines as psychology, biology, the social sciences and humanities, as well as education. It will concentrate the same degree of skill, attention, and resources on educational research that the National Institutes of Health have brought to medical research.

More specifically, the National Institute of Education will do such things as the following:

- It will provide the capacity for directed research and experimentation aimed at filling gaps in our understanding of human learning.
- It will place strong emphasis upon helping state and local school systems to solve their most pressing problems, to reform their educational practices on the basis of the best available research.

- It will experiment with alternative educational models, from revolutionary staffing patterns to technologically assisted teaching.

- It will concentrate attention on improving our ability to evaluate and assess educational programs and on enhancing the capacity of federal, state, and local agencies to measure and analyze the results of their own activities. *The strengthening of the concept of accountability in our educational system is imperative.* It is in large measure our inability to substantiate results that has generated disillusionment and a lack of confidence in our schools.

- It will train educational researchers and practitioners by offering a range of fellowships and traineeships designed to attract outstanding young scholars into educational research and by giving them opportunities to work with senior scholars from many fields.

- It will serve as a focus for educational and social science research throughout the federal government and will bring some central direction to that complex and uncoordinated enterprise.

- It will enrich and enliven other federal educational programs by stimulating creative, vigorous thought and thus serve as an intellectual resource for the nation. Careful arrangements will be made to ensure cross-fertilization between the National Institute, the Office of Education, and other agencies.

- It will build on and add strength to the present national system of educational laboratories and R and D centers and will eventually assume the administration of the Cooperative Research Programs now administered by the Office of Education.

The time has come to lift educational research and development to the highest levels in our national priorities. The Administration's proposal for a National Institute of Education is the way to start.

In programs related to the preparation of educational personnel, one of the major objectives is to speed information on the results of various research and development efforts to the nation's elementary and secondary schools. Each of the 1971 programs is designed to provide for the dissemination of improved instructional strategies and new ways to utilize people, technology, time, and space. Staffs of specific schools or specific training institutions will be prepared to use these innovations.

An example of how research and development activities can be coordinated with the activities of a specific bureau can be found in the nine elementary teacher-training models originally developed under the aegis of the National Center for Educational Research and Development. The AACTE is now conducting seminar-workshops to provide teacher educators and others with information gleaned from the models. The further development of these models, themselves the product of close cooperation with public and private organizations, is being coordinated with activities under the EPDA.

Now I would like to share with you a matter that we at the Office of Education are seriously considering. It is the possibility of requesting a technical amendment to the Education Professions Development Act. This amendment would be of special interest to the many teacher-training institutions that do not have graduate programs and therefore are ineligible for EPDA grants.

The plight of these institutions developed, I suppose, out of tradition as much as anything else. Lacking any other pattern, we tended to model our efforts after the M.A.T. programs. The institute and fellowship programs inherited from the National Defense Education Act are chiefly graduate programs. So is the less conventional Teacher Corps.

This arrangement leaves us with a weakness that is not difficult to discern. We find ourselves with very limited means of making a contribution to undergraduate teacher training while the vast majority of future teachers and educational personnel are being prepared at the undergraduate level.

To round out the federal assistance package, we are considering an amendment that would allow the Office of Education to provide program development aid for undergraduate programs. We need to break the cycle of devoting limited graduate training funds to the retraining of teachers in skills they should have mastered in their undergraduate education. There will, of course, always be a need for teachers and other educational personnel to refurbish their skills. Education is not a static phenomenon, and the Office of Education will continue to support in-service programs at the graduate level. But with federal funds necessarily limited, it simply does not make sense to invest large sums of money in the remedial training business trying to do (or undo) what should be done effectively from the start. We have tried that, and the fact is that it has not proved successful.

The amendment we have in mind would be designed to improve the quality of education of persons who plan to pursue a career in elementary and secondary education, and to do it starting at the initial stages of their preparation.

Let me give you some further details on our thinking. First of all, the amendment would provide for the improvement of undergraduate programs in colleges and universities. It would include junior and community colleges, institutions particularly suited for the training of paraprofessionals for schools serving low-income populations. Funds would be made available for program development only, including staff, staff training, and materials. No funds would go for participant stipends or fellowships, because we believe that the limited money available would quickly be dissipated – and with little effect – if training costs and stipends were paid for undergraduates.

Here are just a few examples of how the funds might be used:

- To improve the academic quality and subject matter content of courses or other training experiences.
- To improve the quality of the practicum or internship experience of prospective teachers and related personnel.
- Possibly to help colleges and universities work with local education agencies in developing training experiences within local schools.

Of course, there is no way of knowing when and in what form this recommendation will become part of the official package. It is hoped that authorization may be obtained during fiscal year 1971, with appropriations to begin in fiscal year 1972. At any rate, a number of details remain to be worked out and a number of decisions are yet to be made as to terms of eligibility and what types of consortia arrangements will be encouraged. This Association and as many as possible of your member institutions will be consulted before final decisions are made.

I hope I have given you some idea of what lies ahead. Clearly, since Dr. Conant wrote *The Education of American Teachers*, the federal government's role in this field has grown and intensified. More than that, I think it has matured. We are probing into more sophisticated theories and approaches. For instance, no longer do we expect each youngster to adapt to a single educational standard. We can no longer accept placing the blame for failure on a child's background, on poverty, on his handicaps, or on his parents' cultural deficiencies. Instead, we are realizing that when a child fails to learn to read, it may be because he has had inadequate or inappropriate instruction. We are questioning whether training doesn't require a more orderly approach, whether we are not ready to move into more systematic, clinical, and practical training programs.

The U.S. Office of Education is no longer a sidewalk superintendent in the area of reform. It is committed to a major share of the architectural and construction work. But we can succeed only with your help and cooperation, and I am confident you will not fail to provide it.

Teachers Will Be Professionally Educated*

Don Davies

I have come to the conclusion that the education world is overpopulated with monomaniacs. Now, a monomaniac by definition – at least by my definition – is someone who realizes that the schools are in trouble but thinks that sufficient improvement can be brought about by following a single, simple course of action. That action too frequently has to do with minor changes in existing programs. Often it is simply adjusting programs slightly and doing a kind of grease job on the learner so he can be pressed into an existing mold. Sometimes it is doing a cosmetic job to create a new image for an old program.

The monomaniac's simplistic approach is something like the pesticide approach to controlling the environment. Both are dangerous because they ignore the need for a systematic examination of cause and effect relationships. One leaves people asking, "Where have all the flowers gone?" The other leaves people wondering, "Where have all the children gone?"

I have cried "Fire!" from a variety of platforms during my career, and I have done it loudly enough to jolt some weary souls in the audience who were taking the opportunity to "rest their eyes." Yet, I have a nagging suspicion that not much resulted by way of developing new insights or taking constructive action. Educators, by and large, are not convinced of the seriousness of the maladies that afflict them.

If you are not *now* convinced that American education – at all levels – is in serious trouble, you probably never will be.

Certainly it is too late in this conference for rhetoric about the real causes of racism, social alienation, poverty, taxpayer revolts, and the militancy of students, teachers, and the community.

All of these problems leave educators and education in a state of disarray, their credibility in question, and unable to win a vote of confidence from their clients.

A large and growing number of people have lost confidence in schools and colleges. They are skeptical about the way our institutions are operated; they have doubts about the people who run them and they question the results of their efforts.

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*Edited transcript of the Fifth Florence B. Stratemeyer Lecture, February 27, 1970.

We hear often that school doesn't really make much of a difference in the life of an individual. One study concludes that teachers don't make much of a difference, that they have very little influence in determining how well a child learns. On campuses around the country, young people tell us that a college education doesn't count for much in the real world.

Among the skeptics are people of intelligence and influence who have no confidence whatsoever in what we call teacher education. I am confronted almost daily with the fact that we lack any evidence that links teacher education to pupil achievement.

I want to make it clear that when I say we have a credibility problem, I am not talking about malicious or grandstanding critics – the types who in the late 1960's sought to make the schools scapegoats for all that was wrong in the world. This is no Admiral Rickover versus the Educational Establishment game. It is something far more serious, for the lack of confidence in the schools that we are now experiencing is diffused through all segments of society.

Black parents in the ghetto, Mexican-American and Indian parents – for them the school is an alien and racist institution that diminishes their children instead of raising their sights and skills. Teachers are enemies who destroy their children's identity and confidence. White working class and middle class parents of conservative persuasion – they see a deterioration of discipline, unfamiliar behavior and dress, teen-agers on dope, and they decide that something is lacking in the educational process. And even the sophisticated and liberal suburban and urban parents who believe *most* in education – they are concerned about the lack of intellectual stimulation, the inability of youngsters to "find themselves," the scorn heaped upon the older generation by the young.

All of these people see shortcomings in the system and in the innards and competence of the people responsible for the schools and colleges. And they are not alone in their disenchantment. Elected and appointed officials are asking just what kind of education tax money is buying. City councils, state legislatures, those who control the purse strings at all levels of government, economists, thoughtful scholars, both liberal and conservative – all are probing to find out how productive the schools and colleges really are. They are, in effect, asking for an accounting, and not one that is comprehensible only to an IBM machine or to an educational researcher. They are clearly not satisfied with the answers they are getting to their questions.

All of this is why I have recently begun to explore earnestly the concepts that lie behind that already overused word *accountability*. Recently, in an address to a conference on teacher education in Minneapolis, I said that the concept of accountability "comes to grips with a notion too many schoolmen have too long rejected – the notion that schools and colleges should shoulder the responsibility for the learning successes or failures of their pupils." No other speech I have given ever drew so much mail and elicited so many queries. It appears that this is an idea whose time has come, and it is a concern that you will be hearing more about in the weeks ahead. There is a great opportunity for teacher educators to provide leadership in developing and applying the accountability concept.

At the recent convention of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), Commissioner Allen shared some of the President's concerns about education with the conference participants. Among these was the need to evaluate and assess educational programs and the capacity of federal, state, and local agencies to measure and analyze the results of their own activities. "The strengthening of the concept of accountability in our educational system is imperative," said Commissioner Allen.

Let me explain what I mean by the word *accountability*. To me it means a client-centered, student-centered approach. Each school and college should adopt as an official policy – in practice as well as in concept – the notion that it and its staff are responsible for the success of its clients. It should assume that student performance is linked with teacher performance. Blame for failure should not be sought in the number of books in the student's home, the economic level of his family, or the educational achievement of his parents. It is time to stop blaming the home, parents, race, religion, hostility, social ineptness, or even uncleanliness for pupil failure. If a child does not learn to read or become competent at math, it is the school that is failing. The kind of instruction he is getting is not teaching him to master these subjects.

To accept the concept of accountability means that the teacher must be effective and that means he must find ways for each individual in his class to succeed to the utmost of his ability. He is not in the class to sort and classify and label. He is not there to help some students to succeed and cause others to fail.

While accountability may appear to be a cold, impersonal concept, this is far from the case. It is, in fact, a humanizing concept, for it requires school boards and the administrators and teachers and aides to accept the development of human potential as the primary objective of the school rather than grading and categorizing into types and tracks. The concept of the development of human potential as the main responsibility of the school is a prerequisite for the kind of accountability I have been talking about. This means, of course, that local schools and teachers must become more specific about their objectives and must be willing to develop programs designed to help students meet these objectives.

Accountability means willingness to measure results and to report those results to the public.

Accountability requires the development of more sophisticated instruments to measure achievement in cognitive skills, but it goes far beyond that. It includes the measurement of attitudes, behavior, and social and aesthetic and human values. But we are not applying to the task of developing means of studying noncognitive achievement anywhere near the imagination and ingenuity the task deserves.

It seems urgent to make one point here: in the development of instruments, in the establishment of specific objectives, I am not suggesting a retreat to a position where we come up with a purely mechanistic and behaviorist approach to education.

Accountability, as I have suggested, implies responsibility for educational achievement in its broadest terms – including the development of personality, the acquisition of positive values, the capacity to deal with the environment and with feelings. Obviously this is more difficult than accepting responsibility for a student's ability to spell and count. I don't think it is possible or even desirable to capsulate education in 500 performance criteria. I *do* think it is possible – indeed, imperative – for teachers and schools to know in specific terms what they are trying to do and to be responsible for the results.

Please don't think that accountability is some kind of new hair shirt *just* for the schools. The same concept should be applied to colleges preparing teachers, and for the same reasons. This means a new strategy for the professional preparation of teachers, and specifically it means more attention to *training*.

That word *training*! People from my generation rejected and expurgated that word from our vocabularies. We talked only about teacher *education* in an effort to emphasize the professional and complex nature of teaching. We didn't want teachers compared to dogs or pigeons – more suitable subjects for "training."

I would suggest that this is the time to recapture that word and to exploit it, for the professional preparation of teachers involves both education *and* training.

We have a whole range of hoped-for outcomes in the education of a teacher. We expect the ability to inquire and think and the ability to accept differences among people and among ideas. We expect the development of a healthy self-concept and the ability to know and accept the feelings of others. We look for the ability to apply ideas to the solution of human problems. And we expect an understanding of a body of knowledge as a discipline. All of this goes into a definition of teacher education. But that is not enough. As we all recognize, specific professional skills are also needed, and this requires training.

Training is largely what is missing from most teacher education programs. Student teaching and internships offer useful and highly valued exposure to reality, but these arrangements seldom allow for training in the sense that airplane pilots, surgeons, and basketball players are trained in order that they may perform their duties with relaxed control.

A recent project conducted by AACTE with an Office of Education grant delved into the subject expertly and in depth. Out of that project came the book, *Teachers for the Real World*.[1] B. Othanel Smith was the principal author. This book provides an extremely valuable plan of action for the reformation of teacher preparation – both education and training.

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[1] Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1969.

Our strategy in the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development builds upon the plans laid out brilliantly in this book. Our program is aimed to effect the kinds of changes needed if teacher education is to contribute positively to the solution of the major problems of our society and of our troubled school system.

The major directions of change are easy to find in *Teachers for the Real World*, in our EPDA plans for 1971, and in the conversations and writings of many people in this room. I want to mention five or six of these directions.

First, there is a new emphasis on training. Smith[2] questions the assumption that theoretical courses plus student teaching are adequate. He contends that the main defect in teacher preparation is the almost total lack of a training component which must include the following elements:

- Specifying a desired behavior.
- Establishing a training situation.
- Performing the specified behavior.
- Feeding back information about the performance.
- Modifying the behavior in light of the feedback.
- Continuing the cycle of performance-feedback-correction until desired level of skill is achieved.

The second direction is closely related to the first and to the concept of accountability. It has to do with designing teacher education programs – most particularly the training components – around *competencies* to be developed, and with evaluating students and the program itself on the basis of results – the achievement of the desired competencies. Of course, developing competency-based training should lead directly to performance- or competency-based certification and accreditation.

A third direction, also closely related, is the individualization of programs of preparation.

Fourth is increased emphasis on effective and humanistic development of teachers and teacher educators. The need to humanize schools and colleges is obvious to all of us. This humanizing task cannot be done by educational personnel who are well educated and well trained but emotionally barren and insensitive to *feelings*.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

A fifth direction is the bringing into the educational enterprise – both schools and colleges – of new talent from neglected sources. I refer specifically to people from low-income areas and people with minority-group backgrounds.

A sixth and vital new direction – one which was accented in the AACTE program awards – is the establishment of a new kind of partnership among colleges, schools, and the communities they serve. Also required are new partnerships and roles for college teachers, school teachers, community people, and school and college students. Neither the school nor the college can do the job alone.

Each of these directions can lead to improved professional preparation of personnel to serve all kinds of children, but at the same time, intensive efforts are needed to provide teachers and other personnel with the motivation and skills necessary to serve handicapped and disadvantaged children well. This includes helping children understand and resolve racial and other tensions and conflicts in integrated schools.

I want to take this occasion to make a public statement about important new efforts in the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development which are consistent with the directions I have outlined.

First, we will launch a small-scale program in fiscal year 1971 to support the development of training complexes as proposed in *Teachers for the Real World*. This will provide a neutral ground where the school, the teacher preparation institution, the community, and other agencies can come together and pool their resources. The training complex is a setting for the training component of teacher preparation to take place. It is not a laboratory school of the conventional type, and it's not a student teaching center. It exists *not* to provide for internship programs but to provide for the development of professional skills in a controlled setting. We definitely are not ready for proposals or grants, but we are ready to begin to refine the concept and do a full-scale simulation study at four or five sites that have been selected.

The training complex reinvents the normal school, or at least recaptures some of its best pedagogical features: serious learning of subject matter, teaching practice and immediate feedback, and emphasis on skills as contrasted to theories.

Second, the Bureau is beginning to make a serious effort to encourage the use of protocol training materials. These are audiovisual materials – tapes, records, films, slides – which capture teacher and pupil behavior and permit a later analysis of that behavior. They are effective both in illuminating theoretical concepts and in training personnel in specific professional skills.

A large body of such materials already exists, but a system is needed to inventory, categorize, assess, and distribute them. We also need to provide for assistance in their effective use. I am certain that ways will be found to support the development and use of new protocol and other training materials. We already have a task force composed of people from the field exploring the possibilities.

Third, we are introducing another major program called the Urban/Rural Program. Its purpose is to improve the basic skills and self-image of pupils from low-income homes. Now, many of our programs have that same general goal. Where this one differs is that we hope to accomplish this end by freeing and using the creative energies of teachers already in the schools. Under this program, we are pinpointing specific schools – crisis schools. These are identified as schools which have been ineffective in raising the level of pupil achievement and where teachers lack either the freedom or the ability to provide adaptive and creative educational experiences for the learners. A crisis school is also one which serves a community with extremely limited resources and facilities.

Urban/Rural projects will start with the identification of learning problems, both academic and those which have to do with self-image and individual identity. Then we will tackle these problems through the classic problem-solving approach: identify the problems and the barriers to solving those problems, examine available resources and determine what additional resources are required, develop alternative strategies, then select one strategy and move on with the job.

Participating districts will have to agree to free the crisis school from those constrictions and constraints which may be blocks to progress. For instance, this school may have a different schedule, a different way of organizing the day, or different ways of using personnel, and different certification requirements. The idea is to acquire the freedom necessary to get the job done.

If successful, this program will demonstrate that, if set free, the energies and capacities within a school and within the community it serves can be put to work creatively and effectively. We also expect it will demonstrate that concentration on specific problems in the school setting by the entire school staff will prove more effective in bringing about change than the on-campus, summer-institute type programs which had little to recommend them but tradition. No one is insisting that progress be an inbred experience. Funds will be available to the schools to contract for outside help from colleges and other agencies.

Last night Commissioner Allen made the first public announcement that we are seeking to amend EPDA to provide new program authorization for development grants for undergraduate teacher education. Special emphasis in these programs would be given to encouraging effective ways of improving the subject matter preparation of teachers, to linking subjects to be taught to the training component, to finding more effective ways to provide the training component. The amendment will be considered during this year's hearings. If it passes, funds will be sought for the fiscal 1972 budget.

The new undergraduate teacher education support program would not be tied to fellowships or stipends but would provide money for staff development and the development of curriculum and materials.

Such a new authorization would round out and strengthen our overall strategy for change. We have COP–Career Opportunities Program–which attracts new people. We have the Teacher Corps to recruit bright, talented college graduates. We have the Urban/Rural Program which helps experienced teachers. And at the top in graduate schools we have TTT which trains teachers of teachers and provides for teacher preparation institutions teachers who are qualified to lead in the directions I have talked about here.

I am certain that the strategy we are pursuing is sound and that there will be money to support it. But I do have a sense of anxiety. It would be disastrous if teacher educators and schoolmen applied the funds to perpetuate what they are already doing or if the money were used to carry out the schemes of the monomaniacs or cosmetic experts.

Yet overriding these fears is an optimism. I have confidence that teacher educators can respond well enough and promptly enough to solve the problem of credibility, to face up to the concept of accountability, and in doing so to develop effective programs of education and training.

I am optimistic that we will learn from the unwavering example that Florence Stratemeyer provides. She embodies and demonstrates and lives these *powerful* concepts: that the individual matters, that he can master himself and make a difference as an individual, and that if we can apply reason and compassion to man's problems, they can be ameliorated and eventually solved.

For me these concepts provide the only basis for optimism, hope, and sanity in a world that often seems absurd, in a time when confusion and conflict and hostility and cynicism seem to prevail. This is why I am here this afternoon. This is why Florence Stratemeyer is a symbol as well as a person to me and to all of us.

THE CHARGE TO ACTION

Recommendations for the Association of Teacher Educators*

Dorothy McGeoch and Hans Olsen

They said this at the AST Conference:

"I'm getting tired of words; we need more action."

"You *can* get improvement if you are willing to work with people."

"Student teaching as a *culminating* experience is a defunct idea."

"School systems and colleges seem to run on different gears."

"AST should assume leadership in designing and providing new and better field experiences FAST!"

"We're looking for escape. I believe we *can* do something within the structure we have now."

"AST is not serving a real leadership role."

They also said this at the AST Conference:

"A timid organization will not realize its full potential."

"Decisions made for the improvement of teacher education programs should be based on evidence derived from research as well as intuition."

"We create our own problems. We protect the incompetent. Are we professional?"

"The legal status of student teaching is a problem all over the country. Something should be done about it."

"The strength of the local AST unit is that it derives from supervising teachers' attempts to do an increasingly better job of guiding student teachers."

"There is too much comment that is only negative. What we need are critics who can offer constructive contributions for change."

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*On September 1, 1970, the name of the Association for Student Teaching was changed to the Association of Teacher Educators.

This was said at the AST Conference:

"Teacher education programs should be structured cooperatively by university personnel, school representatives, teacher education students, and community leaders."

"Learning *how* to solve problems is just as important as *solving* problems."

"We need to break away from lock-step courses and move toward a self-pacing program."

"After four years, what would have happened if I didn't like student teaching?"

"Just because something's old doesn't mean it's bad."

"The supervising teacher should give the student teacher enough rope to try things but not enough to hang himself."

Those at the AST Conference heard this:

"Are we afraid to make the sacrifices necessary to do what we ought to do when we see what is needed?"

"Programs for teacher education must develop from partnership efforts of college and school professionals."

"We need to structure our programs so we are doing what we are telling our students to do."

"Teachers are saying to university people, 'Come into our schools and work with us.' "

"AST needs to take leadership in giving the supervising teacher professional status."

"When people are polarized into groups, each of which is struggling for power, those people lose their individuality."

They said this at the AST Conference:

"We have contributed to the fact that teachers fail to see themselves as teacher educators."

"AST needs to *push* state units to involve schools, colleges, and state departments in cooperative responsibility."

"I don't understand why I was placed with a poor supervising teacher – it's my time and all I'm getting is a grade."

"We came to get answers to problems but left with more questions which were unanswered."

"We must encourage cooperative structuring of regional or area endeavors involving *all* possible partners in teacher education. This, I hope, would realign *real* power to a constructive end."

"With the change of name to Association of Teacher Educators (ATE) there opens some new areas of concern if the new moniker is descriptive of purpose. There also is a kind of admission implied that student teaching as we have known it has never been enough."

"As individuals in institutions we lack the power to implement change. As an effective organization we can focus on a problem and find a solution to it."

These are some "notable quotes" taken from what was said during the 1970 Conference in Chicago. Most of them were heard in the discussion group sessions. These quotations indicate the wide-ranging concerns of those who attended the Conference.

We were charged with pulling together some recommendations for the future. In doing this, we relied on our own perceptions of the mood of the Conference and the information supplied by the leaders and/or recorders of something more than ninety discussion groups, the section leaders (Dwight Clark, Delva Daines, and Maynelle Dempsey) and the "listeners" (Alma Bent, Leonard Clark, and Robert Threatt). Without the help of all these people, our task would have been impossibly difficult. Their dedication and assistance is a part of the continuing AST tradition. Our Association could not have attained its present maturity without this kind of service and skill willingly given by its members.

As we listened to group discussions and speeches, read through the reports, and generally tried to pull together our thoughts, two very basic ideas stood out. These threads ran throughout the Conference.

The first thread is the concern, expressed in a great many ways, that AST-ATE be an *action* organization. It was made crystal clear that the good old days when we sat and talked to each other are over. We as an Association are more mature, more sophisticated, and more insistent that we stand for something.

This mood is reflected in the recently adopted Constitution of the Association of Teacher Educators. In that document, we state that among the purposes of the Association shall be the promotion of quality programs for teacher education by:

1. Preparing and disseminating ideas, practices, and programs.

2. Encouraging, initiating, and engaging in program development and research.

3. Providing leadership through:
   a. issuing position papers.
   b. developing guidelines for excellence in professional preparation.
   c. helping frame and promote state and national legislation, rules, regulations.

4. Cooperating with other educational agencies, organizations, and institutions.

5. Serving as a coordinating vehicle through which related teacher education organizations may:

   a. engage in productive dialogue.
   b. cooperate in services—publications, administrative, and research.
   c. engage in collective action.

An organization with a statement of purpose like this simply cannot afford to sit back and wait for something to happen. It must take action.

The very name Association of Teacher Educators indicates that we are a group of *individuals*—not institutions, organizations, or groups—banded together because we have a common concern: the preparation of teachers. But this opens new doors and new vistas before us. For example, it is now patently clear that the title "teacher educator" no longer belongs to college faculty exclusively. It is the rightful possession of *all* who participate in the professional preparation of teachers: classroom teachers, school supervisors, department chairmen, building principals, superintendents, college supervisors, college professors, and college administrators. It also belongs to professional personnel employed by state departments of education, professional organizations, the federal government, and local community agencies. Think of the potential for action when all of these professional persons come together in one organization, the Association of Teacher Educators!

Our new constitution establishes other structural factors that set the stage for action. One such factor is the creation of the Delegate Assembly. This body, the policy-making group of the Association, makes it possible for the organization to take carefully considered action that represents the position of the membership. The second factor is that state units are as nearly autonomous as they can be and still retain their affiliation with the Association. Third, local units such as those in Fargo, Moorehead, Memphis, and Evanston are encouraged. These three factors make it possible for action to be taken with all due speed at all levels: national, state, and local. Indeed, they clearly indicate that we have no excuse for not becoming an action organization from top to bottom.

The Association of Teacher Educators is prepared to become a strong *action* organization, a desire expressed repeatedly and insistently throughout the Conference. We have stated our purpose of being such an association. We have the potential for involving *all* teacher educators in achieving this purpose. We have the structure for making it possible for us to attain our goal.

But talk is cheap! The basic question is: *Will we retain a clear vision of our goal*? At home in our usual niche as teacher, supervising teacher, school administrator, college professor, college supervisor, college administrator, state department representative, leader of a professional organization or community agency, we often become immersed in our day-to-day activities. But that does not absolve us from individual effort on behalf of the Association. We must help *all* teacher educators see the value of joining with us—that teacher preparation programs, both preservice and in-service, will be enhanced when all interested individuals come together on a fully professional basis. We can do this most effectively, not through pleading or cajolery, but by making our Association a dynamic, vibrant, "with it" organization. We must make clear through what we do—our programs, our publications, our work at national, state, and local levels—that indeed we *do* stand for something, we *know* what we stand for, and we *want* others to know where we stand. This is the key to making the Association of Teacher Educators an action-oriented organization.

A second major theme running through many, many recommendations from the conference discussion groups was a strong plea that AST-ATE assume a leadership role—especially in the field of collaborative relationships. Some saw the collaboration as involving the college and public school; others included state departments, community agencies, and the students themselves. For instance:

> Programs developed for teacher preparation should be planned jointly by the college and public school. (AST should take a *firm* stand on this.)
>
> AST needs to *push* state chapters to involve public school, states, and colleges in cooperative responsibility.
>
> AST needs to take leadership in giving the supervising teacher professional status.
>
> AST must assume leadership in design and provision of new and better field experiences—*fast*!
>
> Encourage cooperative structure of regional or area endeavors involving *all* possible partners in teacher education.

There were many, many more.

I believe that our recently completed guidelines can do something toward providing the desired leadership. They are based upon goals, which none of us may ever quite reach, that set forth the direction in which excellence lies.

The guidelines call for involvement, on a partnership basis, of colleges and schools with related professional organizations, community agencies, and the state education department in planning, executing, and evaluating programs of clinical experiences. They mandate the development of interinstitutional structures for implementation of programs and the involvement of students in decision making on all aspects of the clinical experience programs.

None of this sounds new. What is new, however, is the determination, expressed over and over again, to go beyond fine words and paper programs. And leadership is obviously needed.

Involvement of many persons—instructors in the professional sequence, clinical professors and liberal arts professors, teachers, school administrators, students, and community members—requires skill and understanding of a high order. The teacher educator must learn to take account of the conditions of the social context and to deal with the problems of interinstitutional cooperation and subgroup cultures. In short, the college or university can no longer operate as an A group demanding the compliant cooperation of a submissive B group.

Roy Edelfelt said that teacher education cannot continue as the exclusive responsibility of colleges and universities. It cannot and *will* not be controlled by any one segment of the teaching profession. The Association of Teacher Educators has the enormous task of providing leadership in the development of arrangements which are truly collaborative, truly meshed in the intricacies of the real world, and truly responsive to the conditions of the professional context.

We dare not relax! Our Fiftieth Anniversary celebration is over, and today we face the hard facts of the present and the immediate future. The next five years will present more problems, more difficult decisions, and more challenges than any previous period in our history. We *say* that student teaching must give way to more extensive programs of clinical experiences, *yet* the overwhelming majority of our programs follow pretty closely Fred Wilhelm's description of a typical student teaching experience.

> We *say* that school-university-community collaboration is our goal, *yet* we still believe that the college is in control and get uptight very quickly when teacher groups talk about negotiating student teaching conditions in their yearly contracts.
>
> We *say*, and say until the words lose their meaning, that we believe in the individualization of programs, the personal development of the student, and the participation of the teacher-to-be in decisions that influence his future, *yet* how many of us can really provide the options, tolerate the ambiguity and administer the diversity that would be necessary if we were really to do what we say we believe?
>
> We *say* that we want an organization in which the various interest groups in teacher education have equal voice, influence, and power, *yet* are we aware of what is involved in being the organization in the most strategic position to attempt this difficult task? Do we understand fully the difficult and painful necessity of effecting vital realignments with *both* the academic disciplines and the schools in their communities--and doing it in a climate where the gulf seems to be growing wider, not narrower?
>
> We *say*, loud and clear at this meeting, that we want our Association to be action-oriented and to exercise decisive leadership in our field, *yet* what price are we willing to pay? Are we ready to do the work, support policy statements, and assess the dues which might enable us to achieve our aspirations? If we aren't, what we say isn't going to make much difference!

Nothing is going to stand still. We may find the challenges too great and meet the fate of maladaptive organisms everywhere. We need to develop a breadth and a flexibility and a dedication to match our new name and emerge the kind of organization we now dream about. The future lies, as it always does, within ourselves.

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